

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN PROSE IN SIND

(Thesis submitted for the Examination of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Sind).

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IN SIND

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P R E F A C E .

The present work was assigned to me as a thesis for the Ph.D. by the University of Sind. The aim and object of this work is evident. It is to explore and investigate the Persian Prose writers and their works. The topic "History of Persian Prose in Sind", is quite vast, for, it begins from the earliest times to the British period; though the coming of Persian as a Court Language in Sind can be presumed after Ghaznavids.

It is a matter of fact that Sind produced a galaxy of Persian Prose writers and the poets in Arghūn, Tarkhān, the Mughal Agents, Kalhora, Tālpur and British period respectively. Although some of their works have been published, still their works need a separate research; e.g. The works of Makhdūm Muḥammad Ḥashim Tattawi, Mir 'Alī Sher Qāni, Shāh Faqīr - 'ullāh 'Alavi and the 'works of Pīr of Sarhandi' etc. I have tried my level best to split the chapters and given the account of the life of scholar and writer along with a critical study of his works based on the original sources. I have given extracts of Chach Nāma, Tārīkh-i-Sind; and Beglar Nāma from Elliot and Dowson's work "Historians of Sind" in History of India as Told by Its Own Historians' with necessary amendments comparing them with the original works with

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more important variants; as I thought it the part and parcel of the History of Sind.

I am aware of the fact that still a work is to be explored in Persian Prose in Sind. This is not the exhaustive thesis on 'Persian Prose in Sind'; even then this work contains the most valuable and the preliminary information on the subject and it will open up new avenues for further research in this connection.

I am thankful to the members of the staff of the Sind University Library; particularly Dr. Qāḍī Muḥammad 'Alī, the Institute of Sindiology, University of Sind, and the Staff members of the Sindhi Adabi Board, for their co-operation and help in providing the material to me.

I am also thankful to Maulānā Ghulām Muḥammad Qāsimi for his necessary instructions in this connection, and to my best friend Qāḍī Ghulām Muḥammad Qureshi, of Old Hālā who not only lent me his type-writer for a full year, but also encouraged me and provided me with various manuscripts from his personal Library.

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My thanks are also due to my cousin, Mr. 'Ali Nawāz Leghāri, who typed the rough copy of the material as well as the Fair copy.

Tando Jam (Sind) .

Gul Hassan N. Leghāri

Friday, the 14th August, 1970,

12th Jumādī-'ul-'Thāni, 1390 A. H.

TRANSLITERATION.

The system of Transliteration employed in this work
is the following:-

a	...	ا	or Zabar	gh	...	غ
ā	...	آ		f	...	ف
b	...	ب		q	...	ق
P	...	پ		K	...	ک
t	...	ت		L	...	ل
th	...	ث		m	...	م
j-g	...	ج		n	...	ن
ch	...	چ		o, v, w	...	و
h	...	ح		h	...	ه
Kh	...	خ		'	...	ء
d	...	د		l	...	ل
dh	...	ذ		ny or y	...	ی
r	...	ر		ū	...	او
z	...	ز		ī	...	ای
zh	...	ژ		chh	...	چھ
s	...	س				
sh	...	ش				
S	...	ص				
ā	...	ض				
t	...	ط				
z	...	ظ				
ʿ	...	ع				

ABBREVIATIONS.

A Narrative ...

A Narrative of a visit to the
Court of Sind.

J.S.H.S.

Journal of Sind Historical
Society.

S.H.Rāshidī.

Sayyid Husām-'ul-Din Rāshidī.

S.A.B.

Sindhi Adabi Board.

Takmilā.

Takmilā-i-Maʿārifat-'ul-Shuʿarā.

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CHAPTER I.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF SIND IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES.

"Darius I (ruled 521-485 B.C.) was a great general and skilful ruler of Persia. He tried to expand his dominion." A great Part¹ of Asia", says Herodotus, "was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what Part of the Indus (which is the second river that Produced crocodiles) discharges itself into the sea, sent in SLUPS, both those on whom he could rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. Accordingly they set out from the city of Caspytyrys and the country of Pactyice, and sailed down the river, towards the east sunrise to the Sea. Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the Sea.² "It is note worthy that Darius himself frequented the Persian Gulf and "the Indian conquest led to the establishment of commercial relations with the natives, which resulted in a regular trade, carried on by coasting vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf."³

It will be seen that, "with the sixth century B.C., however, we have historical evidence and we find that the Persian Kingdom, which was supreme in Western Asia, during

¹ Herodotus, (484-431 B.C.) the father of history was a traveller (Vide J.S.H.S.P.I March, 1935).

that century, came into contact with India through the eastern campaigns of its emperor Cyrus II (ruled 559 - 530 B.⁴.C.)⁴.

The People between the rivers Sindhu and Kābul (Gophen) "were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, the Medes, and, finally to the Persians under Cyrus to whom they paid tribute he imposed upon them."⁵

Cyrus subjugated the Indian tribes of the Darōpanisus (Hindū Kūsh) and in the Kābul valley particularly the Ganderians. Darius himself advanced as far as the Indus.⁶ Cambyses II who ruled in 529-521 B.C. who succeeded Cyrus II, was engaged in suppressing the rebellions which broke out in his empire and could not move towards India. But his successor Darius (521 - 485 B.C.) enlarged his dominion towards India.⁺

We find that Behistūn inscription of Darius (Darius Vahugh Khshāythyā = Dharadvah Khshathyah i.e. Sassaksh or Rājā) states as one of the provinces of his empire a region named Gadāra = Gandhāra (modern Rāwalpindi and Peshawar) districts of West Pakistan), including the neighbouring regions named Suguda (Sodiana) Saka (Scythia) and Baktrish (Bactria, Balakh, Balkhika). It is stated in the inscription

+ Majumdar R.C. "The Age of Imperial Unity"; Vol : II; P.40.

+ + Ibid; P.41.

of Darius, the great that "task was brought from Gandāra" for
^{E.}
 the construction of Sūsa² palace.

It is clear from these references that it was Cyrus who conquered Gandāra and Darius, the great inherited it was a part of his empire. But he made his Indian conquest farther into the region called Sindhū. It is mentioned in the Persepolis inscription as well as in Naqsh-e Rostam inscription that Gandāra and Sindhū were both the provinces of his empire. The Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet inscription of Darius also
^{Eg.}
 mentions Sindhū as a Province of the empire.

Herodotus (III, 94) states "that India counted as the twentieth satrapy of the empire of Darius, to which, however, it contributed a third of its revenue, 360 talents of Gold Dust, equivalent to more than a crore of rupees. All this Gold must have come from the washings of the upper Sindhū beds, which according to Geologists, were distinctly auriferous in those days."

^{8.}
 Herodotus (III, 98, 102) indicates the limits of Persian dominion in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and appears to exclude the regions of Sindhū to the south and the deserts of Sindh and Rājputānā to the East. But a part of Indo-Pakistan

2. Ibid: P. 41

22. Majumdar R.C.: Op.cit. P. 41.

was included in it under the name of Sindhū. It must have been a Portion of the Punjab to the East of the Sindhū. Besides this Gandhāra, Aria (Herāt) or Arachosia (Qandhār) were the Provinces under Persian dominion.

The following Provinces, which are now Parts of Afghānistān, Irān, Russia and also which adjoin the region of ^{EE} the Sindhū have been mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions -

- (1) Yaune = Yavana = Ionia;
- (2) Pārthana = Parthia;
- (3) Zaranka = Zaruka = Drangiana;
- (4) Harsiva (Sarayū) = Aria = Herāt;
- (5) Baktrish = Bactria = Balkh;
- (6) Suguda = Sogdiana;
- (7) Saka = Sakasthāna = Seistān;
- (8) Phatagush = Sataga = Sattagydia;
- (9) Harsuvatish = Sarasvati = Arachosia = Qandhār;
- and
- (10) Maka = Makrān.

^{EE}
Darius I was succeeded by Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.) Indo-Pakistan Provinces including Sindhū valley remained under his control and he obtained the Military Service of Sindhū Valley to fight

EE. Majundar R.C. OP. Cit. P. 42.

EE. Majundar R.C. OP. Cit. P. 43.

his battles in Greece. This was most probably the first time that the soldiers of Sindhu Valley fought on the soil of Europe. Xerxes recruited two types of forces (a) Gandhāra and (b) sindhū as described in the Achaemenian inscriptions. Thus Gandhārians and Sindhians fought very bravely. Herodotus gives the following interesting account (VII, 65) of their ¹⁰ equipments.

"The sindhians (Indians) clad in garments made of Cotton carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with Iron; and thus accounted the Sindhians (Indians) were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artathates." The Gandharian soldiers carried "bows and short spears" which were meant for fighting at close quarters, while the "sindhians" (Indians) were evidently used for skirmishing at long range."

It may be noted that the heroism displayed by these troops on this occasion created a further demand for their services. At the retreat of Xerxes from Europe, the authority soldiers participated in the Boeotian campaign ^{2.} under the Persian Commander Mardonius.

2 Majunder R.C." Op.Cit.P.43.

We find the Persian hold on Indo-Pak continued upto 330 B.C., When Darius III, the last of Achaemenian Emperors demanded the troops from Indo-Pak to resist the invasion of Alexander, the Great. But at this time the hold of Persian over this region was becoming relaxed and "Persian rule in Sind had Passed away when Alexander, the great traversed the country in 325 B.C." After his departure it was included first in the Mauryan Empire and then in that of the Bactrian Greeks. From the first century before, until the Seventh century after Christ, India (Indo -Pak Sub-Continent) was invaded by various hordes from Central Asia, the Ephthalites, or white Huns, settled in Sind and established the Rāi dynasty. They now ruled over a vast territory, with Herāt and Balkh as their capitals. The Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent lay at their mercy.

THE RĀI DYNASTY - ^{13.} The dynasty of Rāis ruled over 137 years. "Chach ~~Qutub~~" indicates its boundaries in Sindh in the sixth century A.D. to have been extended on the "East as far as Kashmir, on the West to Debel (or Dewal, and on the North to the mountains of Kurdan and Qiqāns)". Their Capital was the city of Alor (or Aror 5 miles South of Rohri). The Rāi dynasty had Five Rulers, Rāi Diwāji, Rāi Siharās, Rāi Sahāsī, Rāi Siharās II and Sahāsī II. During the reign of Rāi Siharās II, King of

2. Nimrūz attacked on his country and killed him. The army of Siharas II, assembled in a body, and seated his son Sahāgill upon the throne. He was the last Ruler of this dynasty. He expired leaving no issue. His faithless Queen Sūhandi fell in love with a Brahman named Chach who was a scribe of the Rai. Chach after his benefactor's death secured the throne and his widow for himself. This was the beginning of the Brahman Rule in Sindh.^{22.}

In fact we owe our Permanent Position to his help and Patronage and encouragement."

The Buddhist inhabitants of Siwistān (Schwān) pressed the Ruler to surrender to Muhammad b. Qasim. They^{17.} said, "We People are a Priestly Class. According to our faith fighting and slaughtering are not allowable. We will never be in favour of shedding blood."

The Kingdom of Sind was large and had many resources yet the internal situation weakened it and the invaders could not be repulsed.

2 According to Steingass: Persian English Dictionary. "P. 445. "Nimruz" is the name of the Province of Selstan Elliot and Dowson has wrongly presumed "Nimruz" as a King in "The historian of Sind" (History of India Vol. 2 at P. 1 and 2) See "Land of the Eastern Caliphate"; Le Strange (Persian Translation) by Muhammad Irfan; and Muhammad Pādshah "Shād"; "Ferhang-i-Annind Rāj"; Vol: II: P. 4448: Tehrān.
22. Hughes A.W.: "Sind Gazetteer"; P. 23.

" ADVENT OF MUSLIMS IN SIND ".

The unity of the Arabs was Pinching in the flesh of Byzantine and Sāsānian Empires. Their armies oftenly made attacks into the Arabian territory. Hadrat Abū Bakr, (11-13 A.H./632 -634 A.D.) was compelled to cross swords with these Powerful Empires. The Muslims were not so much equipped, even then their courage and determination made them successful. During the Caliphate of Hadrat 'Umar (13-23 A.D./634-643 A.H), Muslims Conquered Syria, Egypt and Persia. They marched towards the frontiers of Sind.

'Islam liberated the People who were Passing, their lives under the tyrannies of Social and Political wickedness. Thus most of the People became Muslims. There was the fullest Religious liberty to the People.

During the reign of Umayyad Caliph, al-Walid b. 'Abdul Malik (86-96 A.H./705-715 A.D.), his general, Mūsā b. Nusair subdued the whole of North Africa. Walid's Lieutenant, Tariq, Conquered the country of Andalusia (Spain) too. Qutayb, the Muslim general was also Pondering over the conquest of Central Asia. This was the time when circumstances forced Muhammad b. Qasim, the Nephew and Son-in-Law to Hajjaj, the Governor of Iraq to conquer Sind.

" THE CAUSES OF ARAB INVASION " :

When Muslims attacked Persia, the Brahman Rulers of Sind had assisted the Persians and they dispatched their legions against Muslims. Some Arab rebels had also come in

Sind and remained under the shelter of Rājā Dāhir during the Governorship of Hajjāj. But the immediate cause of this invasion was the Plunder of eight ships by the Pirates of Debal, the then thriving seaport in Sind.

The King of Ceylon sent some women who were born in his country as Muslims and some presents for Hajjāj b. Yūsuf as well as for the Caliph Walid. He wanted to be in good terms with Hajjāj. The ships were driven away by the storm in the Indian Ocean and anchored at the Debal. The Pirates attacked these ships and captured the men and women. They looted costly gifts, jewels, and Pearls.^{18.} Hajjāj wrote to Dāhir, requesting him to punish the culprits and restore the presents and the captives. But Dāhir refused to take action and looked down upon the matter, saying that he had no control over the Pirates. This enraged Hajjāj and he obtained Permission from the Khalifah to despatch an army to conquer Sind. 'Ubai -dullah was sent to said Debal, but he was defeated and killed. A Second expedition was sent by way of Sea from 'Amān under Budail, but the Arab army was defeated and Budail was killed.^{19.}

Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was deeply affected by these successive failures and to take revenge on the Sindhis he sent his nephew and son-in-law Muḥammad b. Qāsim on a third expedition. Hajjāj obtained services from the Caliph of 6,000 Syrian Soldiers. War materials for Siege were sent by Sea. Muḥammad b. Qāsim was joined at Shirāz in 92 A.H/710 A.D.²⁰ by 6,000 horse men, 6,000 Camel men; 3,000 loading camels. On the way Governor of Makrān gave him an additional army. In spite of Arab forces, a good number of Jats and Meds were

enlisted under the banner of Muḥammad b. Qāsim. They were discontented with the Hindū Government on account of their high handedness towards them.

Muḥammad b. Qāsim laid siege to Debal. The town was protected by the Brahmins and Rājput^{with}s in a skilful manner. But the Arabs threw stones from the wellknown catapult (manjanīq). A bridge ('Arūs); the flag of the temple fell down and a battle was fought between the Hindū and Muslims. At last the Muslims conquered the city on 23rd Rājab 93 A.H. / 1st May 712 A.D. All the inhabitants of Debal surrendered before the Muslims. A large number of booty fell into the hands of the invaders.

Then Muḥammad b. Qāsim advanced to Hirūn, (modern Hyderabad). When he reached there, he received the submission of its inhabitants. Thus the city came into the control of Muslims without shedding blood. He marched to Siwistān (Sehwan) and the city was captured without resistance. From Siwistān he set for Sissam and defeated the Jats. Rājā Dāhir then came over to the strong fort of Rāwar and had collected the force consisting of 5,000 Horses. Here a hand to hand fight took place between both the armies. The Hindūs fought gallantly but fate was not in their favour, the litter of the Dāhir's elephant took fire, and the animal plunged into water. Dāhir came back on shore, he was struck with an arrow at the heart and thus was slain by an Arab soldier; and with the death of the King, the Hindūs fled from the field. The Muslims now captured the fortress without much difficulty.

2. 'Alī b. Ḥamid Kūfi : Chach Nama (Persian Text) P. 118.

After conquering Rawar Muhammad b. Qasim advanced to Brahmanabad which was the most important town in those days. It is forty five miles away from Hyderabad near Shahdadpur. When the Muslim army reached Dahir's son Jaisi-yā ran away. The Chiefs of Brahmanabad could not resist and they surrendered unconditionally. Here he remained for some time and consolidated the administration of the conquered territories. Muhammad b. Qasim gave complete freedom of religion, and the temples which had been demolished in battle were repaired at the Government expenses. Hindūs were appointed in the revenue and given rights and privileges. Even Raja Dahir's former Minister was reappointed to his previous post.

After the capture of Brahmanabad he marched to Aror which was defended by a son of Dahir, Called "Fufi". Aror became under the sway of the Muslims without much difficulty. Muhammad bin Qasim, then advanced to Multan and he conquered it after a strong resistance. Ultimately he reached the boundaries of Kashmir and Qanūj. By this time the news of Hajjaj's death reached and Muhammad b. Qasim was forced to return to Aror.

After the death of Al-Walid b. 'Abdu'l Malik his brother, Sulayman (96-99 A.H./715-717 A.D.) Succeeded the throne. At this time Muhammad b. Qasim was imprisoned and tormented to death on account of Caliph's Personal grudge.

" Caliph Sulaymān appointed Yazid bin Muhallish as a Governor of Sind. Yazid soon died and his brother Habib succeeded him. He was replaced by al-Junayd during the reign of Hishām (105-125 A.H./724-743 A.D.) al-Junayd was a brave and gallant warrior. He suppressed the rebellion of the Hindūs and put their leader Jaiginha to death. Junayd was succeeded by Tamim bin Zayd-al-'Utbi. He was feeble and incompetent, but generous and profuse withal. The Muslim Power in Sind began to decline in his days.

Sind was governed by the 'Umayyad dynasty for forty years. They were succeeded by Abbasides in 132²² A.H./750 A.D. They rejected the Umayyad governors and appointed their own Governors in various places. The Abbasides Governors remained in Sind till 417 A.H./1025 A.D. By this time the Muslim territory in Sind was divided between two independent chiefs, those of Mangurh (near Brahmanabad) and Multān.

23.

" INDEPENDENT DYNASTIES IN SIND",

(a) Dynasties of Multān :-

- (1) Arab Quraishite Dynasty _____ The Ghālībīs
(962-976 A.D./351-366 A.H.)
- (2) Qaramatian Dynasty founded by Jhalan b. Shaybān.
- (3) Afghān Lodi Dynasty _____ Shaykh Hamid/Nasir.
Lodi
(963 A.D./352 A.H.)

'Abdu'l Fatah Dā-ʿūd (1005-1010 A.D./396-401 A.H)

(b) DYNASTIES OF MANSURAH.

(1) 'Arab Quraishite Habbāri Dynasty,

(912-976 A.D/ 300-366 A.H)

(2) Qarāmatians and Sūmrās,

(1025-1362 A.D/ 416-764 A.H)

(c) SAHMĀS - (1290 to 1521 A.D/ 689 to 928 A.H).

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, (998-1030 A.D/389-422 A.H) during his campaigns to India took the town of Multān, 'Uch and repulsed the Abbaside Governors. He sought the services of those 'Arabs who were scholars. He appointed them as judges. He showered his mercies upon the 'Arabs who were settled in Sind permanently, with their families. Abbaside Governors ruled over Sind for ²⁴ 283 years. The Yamani dynasty of Ghazni ruled till 583 A.H/ 1187 A.D. when Ghayāth-ul-Din (d.1202 A.D/ 599 A.H), king of Ghor defeated Khusrāo Khān the last ruler of the Ghaznavi dynasty at Lahore and proclaimed himself the king of Delhi in ²⁵ 720 A.H/ 1320 A.D.

Shihābu'l-Din Ghorī succeeded the throne after Ghayāth-ul-Din's death and after conquering Multān and 'Uch he deputed Qutb-ul-Din (d.1210 A.D/607 A.H) to invade on Sind. He conquered Sind which came as the tributary of Delhi. Here ²⁶ We hear about the most influential land Lords known as Sūmrās.

27

Sūmrās, according to the European writers were Rāj-
puts and after-wards they were converted to Islām. But
Dr. Bird considering some Persian authorities tells us that
the " Sūmrās, who became first known in the Indian history
in the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazni, were originally Muslims".
"Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī"²⁸ mentions that they were not Muslims.
Qānī²⁹ says that they belonged to the town of Sāmrah or
Iraq. They migrated to Sind in the reign of Caliph Māmūn b.
Rasīd (198 -218 A.H/ 813-833 A.D.) of the Abbāsī dynasty.³⁰
It is an admitted fact that Sūmrās were Hindūs and they
came in the Upper Portions of Sind "roaming as Shepherds"
through Jessalmir and they accepted "Islām" in later times.³¹
³²

³³
We know that " a large member of Sūmrā tribe
assembled in the vicinity of Therry and taking a man by a
name "Sūmrā", as their Leader, Proclaimed him to be an in-
dependent Chief of their tribe and country." With their
assistance "Sūmrā" soon cleared the surrounding country of
rebellious People. He then managed to marry a daughter of a
big Zamīndār of the Place. Her name was Sād. He got a son by
her and he named him Bhūngar. At the death of " Sūmrā",
Bhūngar succeeded him as the Chief of his tribe. Bhūngar
again was succeeded by his son Dodā, who extended his rule
to Nagar-pūr. After a successful reign, he died leaving a
grown up daughter by name 'Tari' and a minor son by name
Saghār, for the time being 'Tari' took the reign of
Government. When Saghār reached at the age of maturity, he
replaced his sister on the throne.

This young Chief made some invasions in the direction of Kachh and brought the country upto 'Nānkani' into his Possession. At his death, as he had no issue, his widow Hīmū, managed to put her own brothers in Possession of the towns of Muhammad Tur and Tharri.

About this Period, the Sūmrā chief Dōdā was ruling his People at the fort of 'Wāhiga (or Waghā)'. Considering his opportunity very favourable, he collected his Kingmen and castfellow, invaded the country of Hīmū's brothers, and defeated and killed them. But soon afterwards, one 'Dādū Phatū; of the descendants of Dōdā collected a large number of men and made himself the master of his fore-father's country. After a quiet reign of some years he died and was succeeded by a Chief named 'Khairū'. After 'Khairū' became the ruler of the Place. As he was a cruel man and treated his People very badly, some People of the tribe of Samma killed him. This event happened in 752 A.H./1351 A.D. The Sūmrās ruled about 358 years (i.e. 445 A.H./1053 A.D. to 803 A.H./1400 A.D.), according to the

2. Perhaps it is the name of a town or village in Kachh. 22. The ruins of this town are still visible near "Shēh Kapoor", Taluqa Mirpur Bathora, District Thatta. Vide; "Tarikh-i- Tshiri" :: Annotation, 25; 4; P.289.)

222. Elliot and Dowson say that the whole Period of Sūmrās rule may be reckoned at 350 years. "Historians of Sind" (History of India) P.86. Dr. N.A. Baloch states in the "A brief History of Sindhi Language at P.51 from 1050 to 1350 A.D. i.e. 300 years only.

35.
following line of Chiefs:-

1. Sūmrā _____ died in 446 A.H./1054 A.D. (After a reign of 1 year).
2. Bhūnger bin Sūmrā died in 461 A.H./1068 A.D. (15 years)
3. Dodā b. Bhūnger Sūmrā died in 485 A.H./1092 A.D. (24 years).
4. Sanghar b. Bhūnger Sūmrā died in 500 A.H./1106 A.D. (15 years).
5. Khafif b. Bhūnger Sūmrā died in 536 A.H./1141 A.D. (36 years).
6. 'Umar b. Bhūnger Sūmrā died in 576 A.H./1180 A.D. (40 years).
7. Dodā, II _____ " " 590 A.H./1193 A.D. (14 years).
8. Phatu _____ " " 623 A.H./1226 A.D. (33 years)
9. Kehinro _____ " " 639 A.H./1241 A.D. (16 years)
10. Muḥammad Tur _____ " " 654 A.H./1256 A.D. (15 years)
11. Kehinro (or Genro) _____ " " 658 A.H./1259 A.D. (4 years)
12. Tāri _____ " " 682 A.H./1283 A.D. (24 years)
13. Chanesar _____ " " 700 A.H./1300 A.D. (18 years)
14. Bhūnger, II _____ " " 715 A.H./1319 A.D. (15 years)
15. Khafif, II _____ " " 733 A.H./1332 A.D. (18 years)
16. Dodā, III _____ " " 758 A.H./1356 A.D. (25 years)
17. Umar _____ " " 793 A.H./1390 A.D. (35 years)
18. Bhūnger _____ " " 803 A.H./1400 A.D. (10 years)
19. Hamir _____ (dethroned by Sūmrā).

We find Sammas in Sumra Period as the cultivators. They were the subjects of Sumras. Hamir Sumra, "the last ruler was a very cruel man."³⁶ Thus gradually Sammas achieved the Power after the down fall of Sumras. They became the rulers of Sind and raised their head man and Chief, Unar, to the throne with the title of Jem. He was sufficiently strong to attack Sehwan. Malik Ratan, a Turk, was at that time the Governor of that Place, on behalf of the King of Delhi. Jem Unar slew Malik Ratan in 754 A.H./1353 A.D., and Sehwan to his territory. Sammas, built a town and fort of Samu'i³⁸ near Makli.

The origin of Sammas is controversial. According to the "Encyclopaedia of Islam,"³⁹ 'Sammas is the name of a Rajput clan in Sind.' Some authorities consider them to be the children of Sam b. Nuh, the Prophet and other trace their origin from the Jamshed the King of Persia. But it is incredible. H.R. Haig⁴⁰ writes that they were originally Rajputs, and were the inhabitants of Sind in the lower Indus Valley from centuries. Elliot⁴¹ and Dawson write 'that the Sammas are unquestionably Rajput of the great Yadav stock, and they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus'.⁴² Harishta, also agrees that they were not Muslims and they accepted Islam Later.

2. The ruins of this town are two miles away to the North of Thatta. it is still known in Government Record as "Deh-i-Samu'i (vide "Tarikh-i-Tahiri"; Annotation (351); P.302.

Sammās retained their Power for 175 years till they were over throne by the Arghūns in 927 A.H./1521 A.D. Following is the chronology of Sammās⁴³ Vulers of Sind:-

1. Feroz-'ul-Din Shāh Jām 'Unar b. Banbehniyan;
749-753 A.H./ 1348-1352 A.D.
2. Sadru'l-Din-Shāh Jām Banbehniyah b. Feroz-'ul-Din Shāh Jām 'Unar (along with 'Alā-'ul-Din Jām Jūnah).
753-768 A.H./1350 -1366 A.D.
3. Ruknu'l-Din Shāh Jām Tamāchi b. Feroz-'ul-Din Shāh Jām 'Unar (along with Khayru'l-Din Jām Togāchi b. 'Alā-'ul-Din Jām Jūnah); 768 -777 A.H./1366-1375 A.D.
4. 'Alā-'ul-Din Jām Jūnah b. Banbehniyah; (Second time);
777-790-91 A.D./1375-1388-89 A.D.
5. Sultān Rukn-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Tamāchi, (Second Time);
791-793 A.H / 1388 -1392 A.D.
6. Sultān Salāh-'ul-Din Shāh Jām ('Unar?) b. Sultān Rukn-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Tamāchi;
795-806 A.H./1392-1403 A.D.
7. Nizām-'ul-Din Jāmb. Sultān Salāh-'ul-Din Shāh Jām ('Unar?)
807-809 A.H/ 1404 - 1406 A.D.
8. Jām 'Alī sher bin Sultān Rukn-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Tamāchi;
809 -815 A.H/1406 -1412 A.D.
9. Jām Kirn b. Khayru'l-Din Jām Togāchi b. 'Alā-'ul-Din Jām Jūnah;
816 A.H/ 1413 A.D.
10. Sadru'l-Din Jām Sikander Shāh, I b. Khayr-'ul-Din Jām Togāchi; 816 A.H/1413 A.H.

11. Jām Fataḥ Khān b. Sadru'-ul-Din Jām Sikander Shāh, I.
816 (after Rabi -'ul- 'Awwal)
831 A.H. / 1413 - 1427 A. D .
12. Jām Taghluq (Junah I) b. Sadru'-ul-Din Jām Sikander Shāh, I; 831 (after Rabi-'ul-Awwal) .
857 A.H / 1427 - 1453 A.D.
13. Jām Muḥarrak (A Governor of Jām Taghluq and one of his relatives); 857 A.H / 1453 A.D.
14. Sikander Shāh II; Jām Muḥammad alias 'Unar b. Jām Fataḥ Khān (No : 10); 857 - 6th Jamādi-'Ul-Awwal
858 A.H. / 1453 - 1454 A.D.
15. Sultān Sadru'-ul- Din Shāh Jām Sanjar alias Rā-'idan b. Sultān Ṣalāḥ-'ul-Din Shāh Jām (Unar?) b. Sultān Rukn-'ul -Din Shāh Jām Tamāchi (No. 10) . 6th Jamādi-'ul-Awwal 858 - 25th Rabi-'ul-Awwal .
866 A.H / 1454 - 1461 A.D.
16. Sultān Niẓām-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Hindah b. Sultān Sadru-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Sanjar alias Rā' 'idan;
25th Rabi-'ul -Awwal
866 - 914 A.H / 1461 - 1508 A.D.
17. Naṣir -'ul -Din 'Abd'l Fataḥ Sultān Feroz Shāh b. Sultān Niẓām-'ul-Din Shāh Jām Hindah;
914-927 A.H / 1508 - 1521 A.D.

We know that from the beginning of Sammā rule, Persian became the Court language; for Persian had been the Official Language of Central Government of Delhi since two years ago. Moreover Persian was used in most of the parts of Indo-Pakistan in business matters as well as Official affairs during this Period. When Sammā dynasty came into power, the neighbouring territories of Sind, Gujrat and Multan were directly under the Delhi Sultanate. The Governors of that time were the eye-witness of the down fall of Sumrā dynasty and the expansion of Sammā rule. 'A'nnul-Mulk Mahrū was the Governor of Multan. He knew the arrogance of Jām Bānbhniyah and informed about it to Hamir b. Doda Sumrā, the last ruler of the dynasty and encouraged him. At the same time he warned Jām Bānbhniyah about his actions and haughtiness through letters. These letters of 'A'nnul-Mulk show that during the Sammā Period, the correspondence was made in Persian and the treaties between the Delhi Government and Sind were written in Persian. Jām Junāh was appointed as the Jām (the Chief) of Thatta by Sultan Feroz Shāh and he ruled in Thatta with the title of 'Alā-'ul-Din " Jām Junāh " from 777-790-91 A.H/ 1375 -1388 -89 A.D. He erected a tomb on the grave of a very old saint Shaykh Rājī 'Abū Turāb(?) on 782 A.H. /1380 A.D. having engraved the

45
 following inscription -
 بعد از شهریار دهر سلطان داور دوران -
 بامر سرفراز سند خاص حضرت عالی - که پای قدر او اعلی ز قدر قد تابان
 ستوده جام، جم سیرت عدل و الین دیار دل - که از ارزانی لطفش جهان شد بجله آبادان
 برآمد این چنین کنیز معقل کنز صفا گوئی - بسان بیت مسعود آمده است از هزار این ایون
 مقام شیخ حاجی بو ترابی آن ولی الله - که بر درگاه او گهر درواجات خلق آسان
 بسال فقصه و هشتاد و دوازده هجرت احمد - ز عین این روز و زمان و الافعال و الاحسان
 بنا شد ثالث ماه صفر این روضه میمون
 بسعی کمترین بنده کان موس بن شهبان

The above epitaph is still there and it is the oldest
 epitaph of Samma ruler. Thus we conclude that the persian
 was used from the beginning of the Samma rule and it
 became the official language. But the introduction of the
 persian language in Sind is determined during the reign of
 the Ghaznavids. It may be reckoned at the time of Sultān
 Mahmūd's rule (998-1030 A.D./ 389-422 A.H.) or that of Sultān
 Mas'ud in 429 A.H./ 1037 A.D. When Sind was the adjoining
 territory of the Ghaznavid Empire and Lāhore was the capital
 city. It is also not known what was the state of Persian Language

2. The tomb of Shaykh Hājī 'Abū Turāb is between Thatta
 and Ghero. It is one mile away to the South - West of
 the "Guji" village on a Hill.

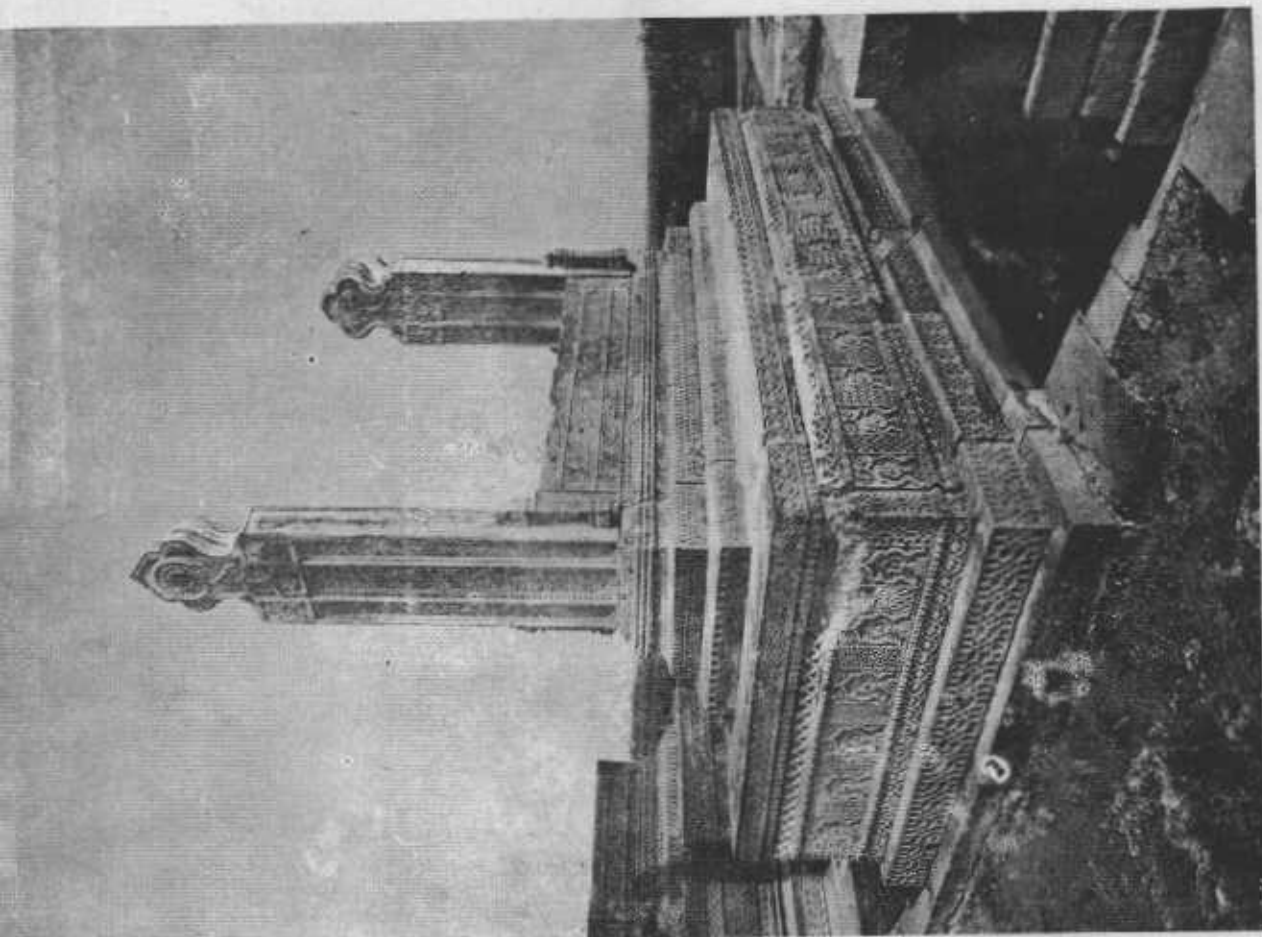
in Sind when Hāshir-'ul-Dīn Qalbacha was drowned in the River Indus on 1228 A.D./626 A.H or at the time of invasion of ⁴⁷ 'Alā-'ul-Dīn Khalji (1296-1315 A.D./696 -715 A.D.).

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS :-

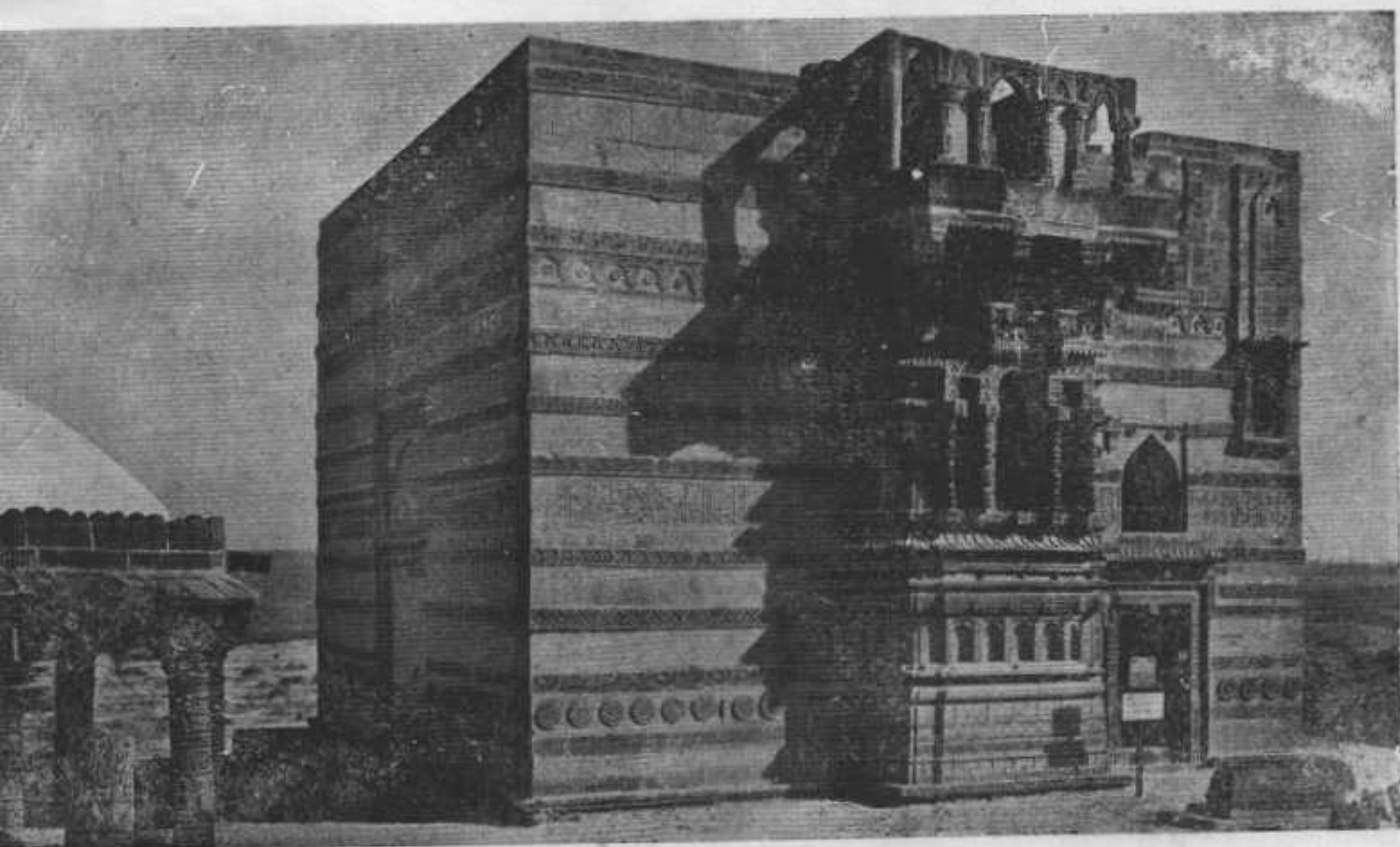
It has already been said that Persian was used as an Official Language during Samma Period and the neighbouring territories of Sind, Gūjrat and Multān were directly under the control of Delhi Sultanate. The treaties between Delhi and Sind Government were written in Persian and the letters of 'An-'ul-Mulk Mahrū, the ⁴⁸ governor of Multān are the testimony of these facts.

Jām Nizām-'ul-Dīn alias Jām Hīndo (d.914 A.H / 1508 A.D.), the most popular ruler of Thatta used to pass this time in the company of learned men, and he liked the learned men. Mir Sayyid Muhammad Na'isūm writes about him, ⁴⁹ At the commencement of his manhood he sought knowledge, spending much of his time in the College and cloister. ... His excellences are beyond what little I can write."

Makhdūm Bilāl (d.929 A.H/1523 A.D.) of Talti, "was a master of both of esoteric and exoteric sciences and a specialist in the knowledge of the Islamic tradition and the Holy Qur'ān." In this Period the education was imparted through Madrasahs and the Arabic, Persian and the Hadith (Tradition) was taught. We find the influence of Sūfism in this Period and Shāykh Uthmān Marwandi, commonly known as Qalander Lal Shahbāz (d.673 A.H/1274 A.D.) was a



2. The Grave of Muḥammad Ṣoleḥ b. 'Isā I, Tarkhān
(Makli Hill, Thatta).



1. The Tomb of Jām Nizām-'ul-Din, (Makli Hill, Thatta).

Derwish and Scholar. He composed Poems replete with the sacred Path and to achieve the Union with Supreme Being.
⁵¹ Burton says that among the text books taught at schools, were Lal Shahbāz's (i) ^{سید} (ii) ^{میزان صرف} (iii) ^{اجناس} and (iv)

Makhdūm Rūh (d.998 A.H/1590 A.D.) was also a great Scholar and saint of his time. He translated the Holy Qur'an into Persian Prose. At that time the learned men of Thatta wanted to examine his knowledge of the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an and they all were astonished with his ⁵² erudition.

There is no record of any Persian prose written by the natives of Sind earlier than the letters of "An-'ul-Mulk Mahrū," the governor of Multān and the first and the first book on history "Chāch Nāma" by 'Alī b. Hāmid Kūfī. The Poets we find in this Period are Jām Jūnē, Shaykh Hammād "Jamālī," Shaykh 'Isā, Jām Hindo, and Makhdūm Bilāl.

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1. Hādī Hasan - "A history of Persian Navigation" P. 23.
 2. Herodotus, III 94. "as quoted by Hādī Hasan."
 3. Rawlinson, G. "The Five great Monarchies" P. 431
London: 1879.
 4. Mujumdar: R.C. "The Age of Imperial Unity"; Vol II.
P. 93. Bombay 1953.
 5. _____ Ibid. P. 40.
 6. Mayer, E.D. "Geschichte des Altertums", III, 97
(as quoted by R.C. Mujumdar.

7. Ball, V : "Indian Antiquary", Bombay, 1884.
(as quoted by R.C. Mujumdar at P. 41)
8. R.C. Mujumdar : "The age of Imperial Unity"; P. 42.
9. _____ "Op. Cit. P. 42.
10. _____ "Op. Cit. P. 42
11. See "Indian Historical Quarterly", Calcutta,
XXV. 153 (as quoted by R.C. Mujumdar P. 43)
12. _____ "The Encyclopaedia of 'Islam', Old Ed.
Vol. IV; P. 433-434, Lyden and London;
1934.
13. A. W. Hughes : "Sind Gazetteer"; P. 23.
14. 'Ali b. Hamid "Chach Nāma"; P. 15.
Kūfi : _____
15. Translated by "Chach Nāma". P. 55.
Mirzā Qalich Beg (Translated by Mirzā Qalich Beg.).
16. 'Ali b. Hamid "Chach Nāma"; (Persian Text) P. 117.
Kūfi :
17. Ibid : "Chach Nāma". PP. 118 - 119.
18. Ibid : "Chach Nāma". P. 89.
19. Ibid : "Chach Nāma". P. 92.
20. Ibid : (See also "Chach Nāma" translation by
Mirzā Qalich Beg P. 77).
21. Qasbi. "Tuhfatu'l Kirām"; Sindhi translation;
P. 68.
22. Balādhuri : "Futūhu'l-Buldān, P. 446.

23. _____ "The Journal of Sind Historical Society" : Vol.III ; P .32. , June 1938.
24. Mir Ma'sūm : "Tārīkh-i-Sind" ; (Persian Text) , P .32.
25. Mirzā Qalich Beg : "History of Sind" ; P .7.
26. Mir Ma'sūm : "Tārīkh-i-Sind" ; P .34.
27. _____ "Encyclopaedia of Britannica" ; Vol .25 . P .143. (Eleventh Edition)
28. Elliot and Dowson. "Historians of Sind" , (Hist. of India) , Vol III , P .88.
29. Sayyid Tāhir - " Tārīkh - i - Tāhiri , " (Persian
Muhammed Hisyāni. Text) ; P .41.
30. Qāni' : "Tuhfatul Kirām" ; (Urdu Trans-
lation) PP . 115-116.
31. Mirzā Qalich Beg : " History of Sind" ; Vol.II .P .134.
32. Elliot & Dowson : " Historians of Sind" ; (History
of India) ; Vol : III ; P .90.
33. Qāni' : "Tuhfatul Kirām" ; (Persian Text)
Vol III ; PP .96-97.
" See also Mirzā Qalich Beg"
" History of Sind" , Vol II ,
PP . 35 -36 . Mir Ma'sūm :
"Tārīkh-i-Sind" ; (Persian Text) ;
P .391.

34. Elliot & Dawson: "Historians of Sind", (History of India); Vol: III; P.87.
35. Mirza Qalich Beg: "History of Sind": Vol: II; P.36
(See also Qani "Tuhfat-ul-Kiram", Vol III, (Persian Text); P.98.
36. Ibid; _____ P.37
37. Mir M^uhammad: "Tarikh-i-Sind"; (Persian Text); PP. 61-63. (See also "Tarikh-i-Tahiri"; Annotations, PP. 308-309).
38. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad: "Tarikh-i-Tahiri"; (Persian Text); P.51.
39. "The Encyclopaedia of 'Islam", Vol IV; P.136.
40. Haig M.R. "Indus Delta Country"; P.79.
41. Elliot & Dawson: "Historians of Sind" (History of India); Vol III; P.98.
42. Farishta M. Qasim: "Tarikh-i-Farishta"; (Urdu Translation); P.477, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow; 1914.
43. Dr. N.A. Baloch: "Chronology of the Samma rulers of Sind"; P.23. to 29, Government of Pakistan Press; Karachi; 1957.
44. Insha'-i-Mahrū; P.87; (as quoted by N.A. Baloch in "A Brief History of Sindhi Language" P.85) P.85; See Qani "Makli Namah"; Annotations; (The letters of Mahrū); from P.137 to 175
45. Dr. N.A. Baloch: "A Brief History of Sindhi Language"; P.87.



46. Muhammed Ghani : "Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustān";
P.193.
47. 'Ala-'ul-Din Khilji was a great Patron of arts and
learning and his reign was remarkable for great litera-
-ry activities. The 'Alā'i Darwāza and the great city
of Siri were the production of this reign. Many great
Poets like 'Amir Khusrāu and many saints flourished in
his reign. (Prof M. Ali : A study of "Muslim rule in
Indo-Pākistān"; P.80; Dacca; 1958. See also "A short
History of Hind Pākistān P.142. Pākistān of 'Historical
Board, Karachi; 1955. The "EncycloPaedia of 'Islam",
Vol.I, P.246 gives note on "'Ala-'ul-Din"; "Poetry
and Sciences were zealously cultivated during his
reign."
48. Qāni : "Makli Nāma"; (Annotation); PP.137 to 176.
49. Mir Māqsum : "Tarikh-i-Ma^qsumi"; PP.73-75 (See also
Malet : Translation of "Tarikh-i-Ma^qsumi";
P.55.
50. Dr. Saderangani : "Persian Poets of Sind"; P.12.
51. Burton : "Sind and its Races"; P.139 (See also
Haig : "Gazetteer of the Province of
Sind"; Vol.A. P.94.
52. Mirza Qalich Beg : "History of Sind" Vol : II; P.288.
53. Dr. Saderangani : "Persian Poets of Sind"; P.10.

✓
'ALI b. H̄amid b. 'Abi Bakr-'ul-Kūfī 613 A.H./20TH APRIL, 1216 A.D.

'Ali b. H̄amid b. 'Abi Bakr-'ul-Kūfī's life sketch is not traceable, but it seems that he belonged to Kūfa. He was an Arab. He knew Persian language too. He tells us that, after spending much of his life and enjoying a great comfort and happiness, he became distressed and was forced to have another abode at Uch. He informs that, when he was fifty eight years old, (the 613th of the Hijra/1216 A.D.) he had to withdraw his hands from all the attachments and contented himself with valuable books which were his only companions.¹

He pondered over this matter that masters and Patrons endeavoured to compile the histories and valuable books, and they left a great reputation after them and their literary contributions made them alive in this world. He gives examples that the conquests in Khurāsān, Irāq, Persia, Rūm and Shām (Syria) had been depicted in Prose and Poetry by the writers of that time. He desired to compile the conquests of Sind by Muhammed b. Qāsim, who spread his boundaries from Sea shore to the Kashmir and Kanauj and Glān Rāi Dāhir, son of Chach, the king of 'Alor. In order to achieve this information, he left the sacred city of 'Uch and went to 'Alor and Bakhar, the Imāms of those places were the descendants of the 'Arab conquerors. There he met with the Maulāna Qādi Ismā'īl b. 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Tāi b. Isqūb Tāi b. Mūsā b. Muhammad b. Shihāb b. 'Uthmān-'ul-thaqfi.³ He was a mine of learning and the soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in Science, Piety

and eloquence." "On being consulted on the subject of the 'Arabian conquest, he informed the translator that an account of it was transcribed by one of his ancestors, in a book composed in the 'Arabic language, which had descended from one generation to the other, till it reached his hands by course of inheritance. But as it was dressed in the language of Hijāz, it has obtained no currency among the People, to whom that language was foreign".

5
After that we are not able to find the date of birth and his expiry date. But when ^{he} reached Uch, in 615 A.H /1216 A.D. his age was 58 years. It is presumed that he might have been born in 555 A.H. / 1160 A.D.

6.
FATEH NAMA KNOWN AS CHACH NAMA : Chach Nama is the history of Sind which details the usurpation of Brahman Chach and the 'Arab conquest of Sind. It has been translated from an anonymous 'Arabic original, the author had found it in 'Alor or Bakhar. But the history does not give us the reliability for the name as "Chach" Nama". The translator speaks about "Fateh Nama" (a despatch announcing victory) in the Preface and in many other places. "It is sometimes styled, as by Elphinstone, Tārikh-i-Hind-o-Sind. It is quoted by Nuru'l Haque in the Zubdatu'l-Tawārīkh and by Nizāmu'l-Din Ahmad in the Tesālat-i-'Akbarī, as the Minhāj-i-Masālik, but the actual name of the history seems to have been "Minhāj-i-'ul-Din 'al-Mulk" commonly known as the "Chach Nama".

7. 'Ali b. Hamid Kūfi : "Chach Nama" (Introduction of Persian Text); P. 8.

Chagh Nāma was composed under Mu¹izz-'ul-Din Muhammad b. Sām Ghori, who is known in Indo-Pakistan history as "Shihā-b-'ul-Din Ghori 599-602 A.H./1202-1205 A.D., and his vassal Nāgru-'l-Din Qabāchah-u-Salātīn, 602-625 A.H/1205-1227 A.D. The author has mentioned both the names in the Preface as they were reigning sovereigns. But the work is dedicated to the Vazier of Qabāchah, named 'Ainu'l-Mulk Fakhru'l-Din Husayn b.'Abi Bakr-'ul-Ash⁷'ari. He has stated the reason for the dedication, that 'Abi Bakr-'ul-Ash⁸'ari's ancestors had obtained many victories in Khurāsān and 'Ajām. He designates the titles to the minister of Nāgru'l-Din Qabāchah as the Defender of the state and Religion, the greatest of all Vazirs, the master of the sword and Pen, Sadr-i-Jahān Dastūr-i-Sāhib Qiran 'Ainu'l Husayn b.'Abi Bakr b. Muhammad-al-'Ash⁹'ari.

The translator says that when he read the book, he found it adorned with jewels of wisdom and Pearls of Percepts. It was replete with various feats of Chivalry and heroism on the Part of the 'Arabs and Iyrāns¹⁰. At the end of the book the translator says that this book was composed in 'Arabic and was not clothed in a Pahlavi garb, the inhabitants of 'Ajām (other than 'Arabs) did not know about this work. He has also repeated the name of the Vazier of Qabāchah as 'Ainu'l Mulk¹¹.

We have not been given any information about the original 'Arabic work by the translator. The name of original work is not evident and it is difficult to fix the precise Period of the original 'Arabic work. The original work is not composed by the ancestor of the Person from whom the translator obtained it at Bekhar, but ¹² it was merely written in the handwriting of one of his ancestors.

While translating from the original work the translator has omitted the names of Persons, Places and he has explained them unauthentically. It shows that the author does not give more importance to the historical authentic events. Besides this the translator omits the original Paragraphs for the sake of adorning the Persian translation. not only this, but the events recorded do not always appear to follow in their proper chronological sequence and some Portions of the history are derived from oral testimony received at second, third or fourth hand.¹³ The two stories which appear the most fictitious, are the accusation of Jaisiya by the sister of Darohar, and the revenge of the two daughters of Dahir upon Muhammed Qasim.¹⁴ Elphinstone's estimate of the work is that, "Though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammed Qasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindū reigns. It is full of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that Period, if examined by any Person capable of ascertaining the ancient

Sanskrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator besides the innumerable errors of the copyist."

Chach Nama is the oldest book in the Persian Prose literature in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. ^{2.} 'Awfi, wrote his "Lubabu'l-'Albab after three or four years after Chach Nama in 617 A.H./ 1220 A.D. Both the works have been dedicated to the same vizier 'Ainu'l Mulk Fakhru'l-Din.

MUHAMMAD 'AWFI : - Nūr-'ul-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Tāhir b. 'Uthmān-'ul-'Awfi-'ul-Bukhārī-'ul-Hanafī, was the learned man of the latter sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century of Hijrah. He traces his origin from one of the most eminent "Companions" of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), 'Abd-'ul-Rehman b. 'Awfi, from whom he derived his cognomen, 'al-'Awfi'. His grand-father, 'Abu Tāhir Yahyā b. Tāhir, was the famous traditionist and an eminent scholar in Transoxiana.

'Awfi visited Samarkand in 597 A.H./1200-1 A.D. and was Patronized by the crown-Prince Qilij Arslān Khāqān Naṣratu'l-Din 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm. In 600 A.H./he was in Khurāsān, first at Nāsā, then (in A.H. 603/1206 A.D.) at Nishāpur, then (in 607 A.H./1210 A.D.) at Isfizar. In 607 A.H., alarmed, probably, by the impending Mongol invasion, he Passed into India, and attached himself to

The authors of Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 1002 A.H./1593 A.D., Tarikh-i-Maksumi, in 1009 A.H./ 1600 A.D.; Tarikh-i-Farajhta 1015 A.H./1606 A.D., Reglar-Nama 1017 A.H./ 1608 A.D., Zubdat-ul-Tawarikh 1014-1025 A.H./1605 -1616 A.D., Tarikh-i-Mufaddeliy 1124-1131 A.H./ 1712 -1718 A.D., and Tuhfat-ul-Kiram 1182 A.H./ 1768 A.D., have obtained the elementary information about the invasion of Muhammad b. Qasim from Chach Nama. According to the Elliot & Dowson, "They have, however, left much interesting matter unnoticed and even the latter Professed translations by lieutenant Postans, in the journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal (No LXXIV, 1838, and No. C. XI, 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is more over unfortunately disfigured by many misprints."

Nasir-ul-Din Qabacha, originally a slave of Shihab-ul-Din (or Muzz-ul-Din) Ghuri, who reigned over Sind and Multan from 602-625 A.H./1205-1228 A.D., and whose service 'Awfi remained from 617 to 19th Jamad-ul-thani 625 A.H. / 1220-1228 A.D. He composed the biography of the poets, "Lubab-ul-'Albab" in 617 or 618 A.H/ 1220 or 1221 A.D. This is the first and the oldest "Tadhkira" (Biography of the Poets) composed not only in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, but no such work has been written in Iran too. "Lubabul-'Albab" contains the account of 169 Poets. It has been edited with annotations by Edward G. Browne, in 1903; and Edward G. Browne and Mirza Muhammad Qaswin, (First Part) in 1966; and by Sa'eed Nafeesi (complete book) in 1335 Shamsi (See "Lubabul-'Albab"; (First

2.

EXTRACTS.

15(b)

COMMENCEMENT OF THE BOOK UPON THE HISTORY OF RAI DAHIR, SON OF CHACH, SON OF SILAJ, AND OF HIS DEATH AT THE HANDS AT THE HANDS OF MUHAMMAD QASIM THQFI. Chroniclers and historians have related that city of 'Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a large city adorned with all kinds of Palaces and villas, gardens and groves, reservoirs and streams, Parterres and flowers. It was situated on the banks of Sihūn, which they call Mehrān. This delightful city had a king, whose name was Siharās, son of Sāhā-si Rāi shāhī (Sihrus b. Sāhāi)²². He possessed great wealth and treasures. His justice was diffused over the earth, and his generosity was renowned in the world. The boundaries of his dominions extended on the East to Kāshmir, on the West of Makrān, on the South to the shores of the ocean and to Debul, and on the north to the mountain of Kardan and to Kaikānān. He had established four Maliks, or governors, in his territories. The first Brahmanābād and the forts of Hirūn, Debal, Lohana, Lākha, and Samma, down to the

Part) E.G. Brown; Introduction PP. 7-8-9 and by "Sāʿeed Naʿfāsi" edition Introduction; PP. 14 and 20 only).

2. These extracts have been taken from Elliot & Dowson's book, "Historians of Sind; Vol. I. P. 38 to ⁶⁷ Susul Gupta (India) Ltd. Calcutta, 1955.

22. The names given in brackets have been taken from "Chach Nama"; Text; ; edited by Umar b. Muhammad Dā-ʿūd Pota P. 15; Hyderabad Deccan, 1939.

Sen (dsrya), were Placed in his charge.

The second at the town of "Siwistān" under him were Placed Budhpur, Jenkēn, and Skirts of hills of Rūjhān to the borders of Makrān. The third at the fort of Asklanda and Pabiya, (Bātiya) which are called Talwāra and Chachpur, under him were Placed their dependencies to the frontier of Budhpur. The fourth at the great city of Multān and Sika, and Brahmanpur and Karur, and Aghshār and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kaghmir, were under his government. He (the King) himself dwelt at capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kerdān, and Kaikānān and Banerhās, (Berhās). He enjoined upon every one of his Princes the necessity of being Prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms, and horses ready. He also ordered them to attend to the security of the country, the conciliation of the subject, and the reparation of the buildings, so that they might keep their districts and dependencies safe. Throughout his dominions there was no disaffected Person who could make any Pretensions against the specification of his frontiers. Suddenly, by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nimroz marched from Fars to Makrān (Kirmān).

When Siharās heard this he went forth from the fort of Alor, haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main Part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and when many brave men and tried warriors, on both sides, had been slain, the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty made an assault, and broke and Put to flight the army of Rāi Ssharas (Sihrus). He himself stood firm, fighting

for his name and honour, until he was killed.

The king of Fars then returned to Nimroz, and Rāi Sāhasī, son of Sihara, sat upon the throne of his father. He established his authority in the country, and the four Princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Rāi Sāhasī; and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule.

He had a chamberlain named Rām, son of Abi(?), a man of science and wisdom. This man had full and general authority over all parts of the dominions of Rāi Sāhasī; no person could enter or leave the king's service but through him. The duties of chief secretary were entrusted to him, and Rāi Sāhasī had faith in his eloquent pen, and never doubted his rectitude.

- 16
CHACH, SON OF SILĀIJ, GOES TO THE CHAMBERLAIN Rām.
- 17
THE OFFICE OF CHAMBERLAIN IS CONFERRED ON CHACH, SON OF SILĀIJ.
- 18
THE RANI FALLS IN LOVE WITH CHACH, AND CHACH REFUSES COMPLIANCE.
- 19
SĀHASIRĀI DIES AND GOES TO HELL.
- 20
CHACH ASCENDS THE THRONE OF MALIK SĀHASIRĀI.
- 21
STRATAGEM. CHACH MARRIES HĀNI SUBHĀN (SŪNHDĪYO) DEO.
- 22
CHACH ISSUES ORDERS APPOINTING CHANDAR HIS DEPUTY.
- 23
CHACH ASKS HUDHIMAN, THE MINISTER, QUESTION CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT.
- 24
THE SPEECH OF HUDHIMAN.

Budhiman, the minister, bowed his head to the ground, and said, "My Rāi Chach live for ever, and may it be known to him, that this government was under the dominion of a sole king, and his chiefs were always obedient to him. When the country was ruled by Siharas, son of Diwāij, and when he was conquered by the army of Fārs, Sāhasi succeeded to the empire. He similarly appointed all the four rulers to their territories, expecting them to exert themselves in the collection of the revenue and the protection of the country.

27.

CHACH PROCEEDS TO VISIT AND MARK THE BOUNDARIES OF ALOR.

When Chach heard these words from Budhiman, the minister, they made an impression upon him. He was very happy. He praised the minister very much, and took it as a good omen. He sent farmans to the authorities in all parts of the kingdom and called (for aid from) the governors of the different divisions. He then prepared an army declaring that he would go to the boundary of Hindustān which adjoined the (kingdom of the) Turk. The astrologers fixed an auspicious time, at which he had gone many marches he reached the fort of Pābiys, on the Southern bank of the Rāsi. The chief of the place gave battle, but after great fighting and bloodshed, the king of Pābiys fled and entered the fort (Bātiys). Rāi Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle, for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass, and wood, and fuel, were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of

darkness, and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of night. He fled towards the fort of Askalanda and encamped in the vicinity of that city. This fort was stronger than the first, and when he reached the fields of this city he sent his spies to obtain information, and when they came back they reported that Chach had entered the fort of Pabiya, and was staying there.

28.

CHACH PROCEEDS TO THE FORT OF ASKALANDA.

When Chach was informed that the enemy had gone to Askalanda, he placed one of his officers in charge of the fort (of Pabiya) and proceeded to that city. He pitched his tents in its vicinity. There was a great and brave man in the fort of Askalanda, who was in the interest of Chach, and had influence over the people in the fort. All the chief inhabitants always took his advice and never acted contrary to his opinion. Chach sent a man to him and promised to make him governor of that fort. He also ordered a farmer to be prepared, granting him the governorship of the fort, on the condition that he would kill Chatera, the chief (malik) of Pabiya, or take him prisoner (Pabiya). Pabiya was also to be made over to him. He agreed to these terms and conditions. He sent his son to Chach, and by occasionally visiting Chatera, gained his confidence, so that he was never prevented from going into his court either by day or by night. When he found an opportunity, he suddenly killed Chatera and sent his head to Chach. Rāi Chach showed him great favour and honour, granted him a reward in taken

of his Plessure, and made him the independent chief of that fort. The great and noble men of the city attended on him, and made him Presents. He treated them all with honour and respect, and kept them faithful to their allegiance. Chach gave him some Prohibitions and admonitions, so that he continued faithful in obedience and never disobeyed his orders.

29.

CHACH MARCHES TOWARDS SIKKA AND MULTAN.

Having completed the expedition to Askalanda, Chach Proceeded towards Sikka and Multan. In Multan there was a chief (Malik) whose name was Bhijhrā. He was a relation of Sahagi. When he received the news of the arrival of Chach, he came to the banks of the Ravi. He had large dominions and Possessed great abilities. Suhawal, his nephew, governed the fort of Sikka opposite Multan, towards the East, and along with Ajin, the cousin of Bhijhrā came with a large force to meet him (Chach) and he (Chach) encamped at a ford on the Bias for three months. When the water decreased, they selected a Place at a village a little above the encampment, where the water did not Prevent a Passage, and he (Chach) crossed over. He came to Sikka, and fought a battle with Suhawal. He besieged the fort for some days, and the enemy was much Pressed. Some men were slain on Chach's side, and on the side of the infidels many were despatched to hell. Suhawal then fled, and went to the fort of Multan. They entered the fort, and stood on the banks of the Ravi Prepared with all the implements of war. Chach then took



Possession of the fort of Sikka, and killed five thousand soldiers, and made the inhabitants slaves and prisoners of war. Chach Placed Amir 'Ain-'ul- Deula Behān Madni in the fort of Sikka, and himself Passed over to Multān. Both armies confronted each other. Malik Bhjhrā, with a formidable army, fighting elephants, and men of war, came out and opposed Chach. Sharp encounters ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. Bhjhrā took refuge in the fort, and wrote letters to the ruler of Kāshmir stating that Chach, son of Silāij, a Brahman, had become chief of Alor, the capital. He had come with a numerous army, and had conquered all the strongholds, great and small, and fortified them. That he (Bhjhrā) was not able to cope with him, and no chief was victorious over him in battle. He had reached Multān, and it was expedient that the chief of Kāshmir should assist him (Bhjhrā) and sent reinforcements.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL RETURN OF THE MESSENGER
FROM KASHMIR.

Before the messenger reached Kāshmir, the Rāi of that Place had died, and his son, who was only a boy, had succeeded him. The ministers, counsellors, attendants, and guards, as well as the nobles and chief men of the state, consulted with each other and answered the letter in a proper manner. They stated that the Rāi of Kāshmir had departed to the next world, and his son was a mere boy of tender age. The different divisions of the army had raised their heads in rebellion and revolt. It was necessary that the affairs of these

Parts should be set straight, and therefore it was not at this time in their Power to Provide the means of assistance, and that Bhijhrā must rely upon his own resources. When the messengers came back and communicated this, Bhijhrā, despairing of assistance from the king of Kashmir, sued Rāi Chach for Peace, and made Promises and assurances. He said he would leave the fort if assured of his safety, in writing, and that nobody should molest him until he reached a Place of security with all his followers and dependants. Chach agreed to these terms, and Promised him protection. He came out of the fort, and, with his People, went towards the mountains of Kashmir. Chach entered the fort, and the Province was brought under his dominion.

CHACH LEAVES HIS DEPUTY IN THE FORT OF

MULTAN AND PROCEEDS ^{31.} ONWARD

When he took the fort of Multan he appointed there a Takkur as his deputy. He went into the temple, prostrated himself before the idols, and offered sacrifices. He then prepared to march forward. The rulers of Brahmanpur, Karur and Aghshar, acknowledged submission to him. From these places he proceeded to the boundaries of Kumbh and Kashmir. No king offered any resistance." When the Almighty makes a man great he renders all his enterprises easy and gives him all his desires."

Every Place to which he went fell into his possession. At last he reached the fort of Shashalāh, an elevated Place which is called Kumbh on the borders of Kashmir,

and stopped there for one month. He punished some of the chiefs of the surrounding places, and collected an army under his command. Then he made firm treaties with the chiefs and rulers of that part of the country, and securely established his dominion. He sent for two trees, one of which was a "Malsir", that is white poplar, and the other a "Deodar", that is a fir. He planted them both on the boundary of Kashmir, upon the banks of a stream, which is called the five waters, and near the Kashmir from which numerous fountains flow. He stayed there till the branches of each of the trees ran into those of the other. Then he marked them, and said it was the boundary mark between him and the Rai of Kashmir, and beyond it he would not go.

RETURN OF CHACH AFTER FIXING HIS BOUNDARY WITH

32.
KASHMIR.

The narrator of this conquest has thus said, that when the boundary towards Kashmir was defined, Chach returned to the capital city Alor. He stopped there a year to take rest from the fatigues of the journey; and his chiefs got ready the provisions and materials of war. He then said, "O minister I have no fear from the East, Now I must take care of the West and the South". The minister replied, "Indeed, it is most praise worthy for kings to be acquainted with the affairs of their countries. It is also to be apprehended that from your absence in the upper provinces the nobles and the Governors of the different parts may have presumed that since Rai Sāhāsi there is nobody to demand from them the revenue of the country. Truly mismanagement and

disorder have taken place". On this, Chach, in an auspicious hour, marched towards the forts of Budapur (Budhiya) and Siwistan. There was a chief in Siwistan, called Matta, and Chach crossed the Mihran at a village called Dihayast, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor. From this Place he proceeded to Budhiya, the chief of which was the son of Kol b. Bhandarku, Bhakka. His capital was Kekaraj, and the inhabitants of the Place called it Sawis. Chach attacked and took the fort of Sawis and Kiya son of Kaka, came forth to ask quarter for the Prince and his following. They laid upon themselves a tribute to pay him, and made their submission.

33. THE ARMY MARCHES TO SIWISTAN.

From that Place he went to Siwistan, and when he approached it, Matta, its chief, came forth with great alarm and a large retinue to meet him. A battle was fought, Chach was victorious, and Matta, with his army, fled and took refuge in the fort. Chach besieged it, and after a week the garrison was obliged to sue for Peace. The terms being agreed to, they came out of the fort, and surrendered the keys to the officers of Chach, who gave them Protection and showed them much kindness. He gave the chiefship of the Place to Matta, and also placed one of his confidential officers there. He stopped there for a few days, during which time the affairs of the territory and the city were put in order.

CHACH SENDS A MESSENGER TO AKHAM LOHANA CHIEF OF BRAHMANABAD.^{34.}

When the invasion of Siwistān was over, Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohana, the governor of Brahmanābād, who was chief also of Lakhs, Samma and Sihta, and called upon him to acknowledge submission. When he was a few days' journey from Makran, the footmen whom he had placed on the roads, caught a person with letters from Akham, which he had written to Matta, the governor of Siwistān, to the following effect. "I have always behaved towards you with great cordiality and friendship, and never shown you opposition or quarrelled with you. The letter which you sent by way of friendship was received, and I was much exalted by it. Our friendship shall remain confirmed for ever, and no animosity shall arise. I will comply with all your orders. You are a king, and the son of a king. Unity exists between you and me. Circumstances like this have occurred to many persons, and have obliged them to seek protection. You are at liberty to reside at any place you like within the territory of Brahmanābād, that is to say, up to the Sea of Debal. If you have resolved to go in any other direction, there is nobody to prevent or molest you. Whenever you like to go I will assist you. I possess such power and influence that I can render you aid." Matta found it expedient to repair to the country of Hind, to Malik Ramal, who was also called Bhatti.

CHACH SENDS A LETTER TO AKHAM LOHANA.

Rājā Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohāna, saying, "you from your Power, and Pomp, and family descent, consider yourself the ruler of the time.

Although this kingdom and sovereignty, wealth riches, dignity, and Power have not descended to me by inheritance, yet these distinguished favours and this exalted Position have been given to me by God. It was not by my army that I gained them; but God; the single, the incomparable, the creator of the world, in favour to Silāij, has given me this dominion, and this most glorious Position.

In all circumstances I obtain assistance from him, and I have no hope of aid from any other. He enables me to accomplish all my undertakings, and assists me in all my acts.

He has given me victory in all battles, and over all my enemies. He has bestowed on me the blessings of both worlds. Although you think you have possessed yourself of all this Power and circumstance by your courage and audacity Promptitude, and glory, you shall surely lose it, and to take your life is lawful."

CHACH ARRIVES AT BRAHMANĀBĀD, AND

FIGHTS WITH AKHAM LOHANA.

Chach then marched against Akham Lohāna, who had gone from Brahmanābād into the interior of the country. When he received the intelligence of the arrival of Chach, he came to the

capital, and made Preparation for war. When Rājā Chach arrived at the city of Brahmanābād, Akham stood ready to oppose him. After a great slaughter of warriors on both sides, the army of Akham took to flight, and he entered his fort. Chach laid siege to it, and the siege lasted for the period of one year.

In those days the king of Hindustān, that is, Kanauj, was Gatabān, son of Rāssal, and Akham sent letters to him asking for assistance. But Akham died before the answer was returned, and his son succeeded him. Akham had a friend, an infidel Samani, named Buddh-rakū, i.e., "Protected by the idol." He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihār, and the idol 'Vikṣahā'. He was a devotee there of, and famous for his Piety, and all the People of the surrounding Places were obedient to him. Akham was his disciple, and he regarded the Samani as his Polestar. When Akham had taken refuge in the fort, the Samani assisted him; he did not fight, but he read his books in his chamber of worship. When Akham died, and his son succeeded him in the government, the Samani was disaffected and troubled, for he did not think it right that the kingdoms and the Property and estates should depart from his hands. In his Perplexity he looked about, and he arrived at the conclusion that the country must fall to Chach, whether he would be friendly to him or not. Then the (late king's) son being sore Pressed, his army and his forces gave up fighting.

and the fort was surrendered to Chach, who firmly established his power in it.

When Chach heard of the Samani, and knew that he had made a compact with Akham and his son, and that the war had lasted for one year through his enchantments and magical power, he swore that if he ever captured the fort, he would seize him and flay him, and order drums to be covered with his skin, and have his body torn to pieces. This oath was reported to the Samani, who laughed and said, "Chach will not have the power to kill me." When after a time, the people of the fort, after much fighting and great slaughter, gave up the contest, and solicited protection, by the intervention of nobles and chiefs, a treaty was made between both parties, and the fort was surrendered. Chach entered it, and told them that if they liked they might go away; there was no one to interfere with them, and if they wished to remain they might. The son and the dependants of Akham seeing him kindly disposed towards them, chose to remain. Chach stayed for a time in that city, and made himself acquainted with their disposition.

CHACH TAKES THE WIFE OF AKHAM TO HIMSELF, AND
GIVES THE DAUGHTER OF HIS NEPHEW TO AKHAM'S SON

37.
SARBAND.

Chach sent a man to the mother of Sarband and requested her hand. The son brought her. Chach gave Dshshiya, the daughter of his nephew to the son, and decked him in apparel of many colours. He stopped there for a year, and appointed

Officers on his part to collect the revenues. He subjugated the other surrounding chiefs. At last, he enquired where the enchanter Samani was, that he might see him. He was told that he was a great devotee, and that he would be found with the devotees, and that he was one of the philosophers of Hind. He was the keeper of the temple of Nao-Vihār, and amongst the other devotees he was the greatest, and had reached to Perfection. He was so skilled in magic and enchantments, that he had made a world obedient and submissive to him. He had provided himself with all the requisites by means of his talismans, and for some time he had become friendly to Sarband because he had been friendly with his father. Through his power and protection the army of Brahmanābād had protracted the war for so long time.

CHACH VISITS THE SAMANI, AND ENQUIRES

38.

ABOUT HIS CIRCUMSTANCES.

Chach ordered his body guards and soldiers to mount their horses, and went towards the temples of Budh and Nao-Vihār with the intention of killing the Samani. He called his armed men and instructed them that when during the interview he should stand up and look towards them, they should draw their swords and sever the Samani's head from his body. When he reached the temple, he saw the Samani sitting on a chair, engaged in worship, and having some clay in his hand, with which he was making idols, he had something like a stamp with which the figure of the Buddha was made on the clay, and when it was finished he placed it on

one side. Chach stood by him, but received no attention from him. After a short time, when he had finished his idols, he raised his head and said, "Is the son of the monk Silāij Come?" Chach replied, "Yes, O devotee. The Samani said, "For what purpose have you come?" Chach answered that he wished to see him, and therefore he had come. The devotee bid him to sit down. Chach sat. The devotee spread a fine cloth, and made him sit on it. He asked, "O Chach! What do you want?" Chach replied, "I wish you would become my friend and return to Brahmanābād, that I might turn your thoughts to secular Pursuits, and entrust you with great offices. You may live with Sarband, and give him advice and assistance". The devotee said, "I have nothing to do with your country, and have no wish to engage in Public business. I do not like wordly concerns". Chach asked him, "Why did you side with the People of the fort of Brahmanābād?" He replied, "When Akham Lohana died, and his son was grieved, I admonished him to cease lamenting for the departure of his father, and Prayed the Almighty God to cause Peace and friendship between the contending Parties. It is better for me to serve Buddhas, and seek salvation in the next world, than all the offices and greatness of this. But as thou art the king of this country, at the supreme command I will go with my family to the neighbourhood of the fort, although I fear that the People of the fort will do despite to the cultivation of Buddhas. You are today a fortunate and a great man." Chach said, "The worship of Buddhas is most righteous, and ever to hold it in honour is most proper. But if you are in want of anything, tell me, for I shall consider it a Privilege and

a duty to Provide for it". The devotee answered, " I do not want anything of this world from you. May God incline you to the affairs of the next. "Chach said, I also wish that my salvation may be the result. Direct me so that I may see where assistance is required, and I will help you". He exclaimed, " As you seem to be desirous of Performing charitable and virtuous deeds, there is an old temple (called) Budh and Nao-Vihār (at) Sawandasi which has suffered much injury from the hand of time it requires repair. You should spend some money in renewing its foundation, and I shall be thus benefited by you". "Chach said, "By all means; I thank you, farewell".

39.
CHACH RETURNS OF BRAHMANABAD.

Chach rode back from that Place. The minister asked him, "O king I have seen a wonder". "What is it?" said Chach. He started you had resolved that I should order the remarked, " When you ^{started} soldiers to kill the devotee; but when you went before him you showed every wish to Please him, and accepted all his Prayers". Chach said, "every true; I saw something which was no magic or charm for when I looked at him, I behold a dreadful and horrible Phantom standing at his head. Its eyes blazed like fire, and were full of anger, and its lips were long and thick, and its teeth resembled Pikes. He had a spear in his hand, which shone like diamonds, and it appeared as if he was going to strike some one with it. When I saw him I was much afraid, and could not utter a word to him which you might hear. I wished to save my own life, so I observed him carefully and departed".

CHACH STAYS AT BRAHMANĀBĀD AND DETERMINES THE

40.
AMOUNT OF THE REVENUE

Chach stopped in the fort of Brahmanābād till all ministerial affairs were settled, taxes were fixed, and the subjects reassured. He humiliated the Jats and the Lohanas, and punished their chiefs. He took a hostage from these chiefs, and kept him in the fort of Brahmanābād. He obliged them to agree to the following terms: That they should never wear any swords but sham ones: That they should never wear undergarments of shawl, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer-garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour. That they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered. That when they went out they should take their dogs with them. That they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanābād. They were to furnish guides and spies, and were to be faithful when employed in such offices. They were to live in amity with Sarband, son of Akham, and if any enemy came to invade the territory, or fight with Sarband, they were to consider it incumbent on them to assist him, and steadily adhere to his cause. He thus finished his labours, and established his rule. If any person showed rebellion or hostility, he took a hostage and exacted penalties until he should amend his conduct.

CHACH MARCHES TO KIRMĀN AND DEFINES THE

41.
BOUNDARY OF MAKRAN.

When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirmān, which was adjacent

to the Possession of the chief of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hīra of the Prophet of God- (may Peace be to him). After the death of Kīrs b. Hurmaz, the king of Fārs, and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirmān with a considerable force. At an Auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armābel, and when he arrived there the chief of the Place came to receive him. He was a Buddhist Priest, and had descended from the representatives of Kāsi had raised up with great kindness and favour. From change of time he had become refractory, and had revolted from his allegiance. He came forth to meet Chach, when a treaty was made, and cordiality, and friendship was established between them. Chach proceeded from thence to Makrān. Every chief that was met offered his submission. When he had crossed the Province of Makrān and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanxpur. He ordered it to be rebuilt; and according to the Hindu custom a 'naubat' of five musical instruments, was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the People of the surrounding village, and completed the building. He marched from this Place towards Kirmān; and halted on the banks of a river which runs between that country and Makrān. There he fixed the Eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makrān and Kirmān, planted numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream, and he set up a mark, saying, "this was the

boundary of Sind in the time of Chach b. Silāij b. Bassās?

Now that boundary has come into our Possession.

CHACH PROCEEDS TO ARMĀBEL AND FIXED THE

42.
REVENUE.

From that Place he returned to Armābel, and having Passed through the country of Tūrān, he came out in the desert. No body arose to fight with him. He arrived in the country of Qandābel, that is, Qandhār; and having traversed that desert, also, he advanced to the fort. The People took refuge in it. When he arrived at the banks of Sibi, he Pitched his tents there. The People of the Place being much Pressed agreed to Pay him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dirams, and one hundred hill horses. A treaty was made, and Chach returned to his capital Alor, and remained there till he died and went to hell. He reigned forty years.

CHANDAR, SON OF SILĀIJ SUCCEEDS TO THE

43.
GOVERNMENT OF ALOR.

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar, son of Silāij, sat upon the throne of Alor. He Patronized the religion of the Nāsiks (Buddhists) and monks and Promulgated their doctrines. He brought many People together with the sword, and made them return to his religion. He received several letters from the Chiefs of Hind.

44.
JOURNEY OF MATTA, CHIEF OF SIWISTĀN.

When Matta, chief of Siwistān, went to the king of Kanauj, the country of Hindustan was in a flourishing condition.

Kansuj was under the rule of Siharas, son of Rāssal. Matta went to him and represented thus: "Chach, son of Silāij, is dead, and his brother Chandar a monk (Rāhib), has succeeded him. He is a devotee (Nāsik), and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious Persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury".

45
THE ANSWER OF SIHARAS.

Siharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his way. As he is dead, I will bring his Possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their division". Siharas then sent his brother Barhas, son of Kassals. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmir and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hasi, where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo-Dahnoz, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Kāhūya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection.

CHANDAR REFUSES STRENGTHENS HIMSELF IN THE FORT,

46
AND PREPARE TO FIGHT.

SIHARAS SENDS AN EMBASSY TO DAHIR, SON OF

47.
CHACH

48.
CHANDAR SITS ON THE THRONE OF CHACH

Chandar succeeded to the government, and his subjects enjoyed comfort, and the country was governed firmly during his reign, which lasted for seven years. He died in the eighth year, and Dahir sat on the throne of Alor. Raj, son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanabad, but did not maintain his government for more than one year. After that, Dharsiya, son of Chach, took possession of Brahmanabad and his sister Bai was friendly and obedient to him. Dharsiya asked the daughter of Akham in marriage. He remained at Brahmanabad five years, and issued his orders to the neighbouring chiefs, who acknowledged his authority. Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Rwar, of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed. When Dharsiya had finished the works, and collected inhabitants for the town from the places in the neighbourhood, and when it was well populated, he called it Rwar, and returned to Brahmanabad, and firmly established himself in the Government.

BAI (MAI) IS SENT TO ALOR FOR THE PURPOSE
OF BEING GIVEN IN MARRIAGE TO THE KING OF

49.
BATTA.

When Dharsiya was reflecting one day that his sister had arrived at a marriageable age, messengers arrived from

Sūban, king of Bātia, in the country of Ramel, to demand her in marriage. Dharsiya Although he was the elder brother, gave her a Princely dowry, and sent her with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot to Dāhir, recommending him by letter to marry her to the king of Bātia, who had stipulated that he should receive a fort as her marriage portion. The messengers went to Alor, and remained there one month. (Here follows an account of Dāhir marrying his sister because it was prognosticated that her husband would be king of Hind and Sind, and the contests between the brothers in consequence).

RĀI DĀHIR RECEIVES INFORMATION.

RĀI DĀHIR GOES TO AN ASTROLOGER TO ASCERTAIN

⁵⁰
THE FATE OF THE SISTER.

^{51.}
THE PREDICTIONS OF THE ASTROLOGERS.

CONSULTATION OF BUDHIMAN, THE MINISTER, WITH

^{52.}
RĀI DĀHIR

^{53.}
INGENUITY OF BUDHIMAN, THE MINISTER.

⁵⁴
DĀHIR SENDS A LETTER TO DHARSIYA.

⁵⁵
DHARSIYA RECEIVES THE LETTER.

⁵⁶
DĀHIR SENDS ANOTHER LETTER TO DHARSIYA.

⁵⁷
DHARSIYA MARCHES TO ALOR TO SEIZE DĀHIR.

DHARSIYA ENTERS THE FORT OF ALOR ON AN

^{58.}
ELPHANT.

^{59.}
DĀHIR IS INFORMED OF THE DEATH OF DHARSIYA.

⁶⁰
THE BURNING OF DHARSIYA'S BODY.

⁶¹
DĀHIR GOES TO BRAHMANĀBĀD.

Dāhir remained one year in Brahmanābād, in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharaiya, and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwistān and thence to the fort Rāwar, (i.e. Alor or Arore) of which his father Chach had laid the foundations, but the works were not completed when he died. He remained there for some time, and ordered that fort should be finished. He remained there during the four hot months, for it is a pleasant place and has an agreeable climate, and he used to remain during which time he became confirmed and generally recognized in his dominions in Sind and Hind. The chiefs of Ramal became aware of his wealth both in treasure and elephants.

THE CHIEFS OF RAMAL COME TO FIGHT WITH
RAI DĀHIR.

The chiefs advanced with a large and powerful army of horse and foot and war-elephants. They came, by way of Budhiya, to the town (rūstāī) of Rāwar, and conquered it, and passed on from thence to Alor.

§ § § § §

MUHAMMAD 'ALLĀFI (AN 'ARAB MERCENARY) GOES
AGAINST THE CHIEFS OF RAMAL.

Muhammad 'Allāfi, an 'Arab of the Bani Sāmā, who had killed 'Abdu-'l-Rahmān son of 'Ash'ath, for having run away from battle, came to join Dāhir with five hundred 'Arabs.

§ § § § §

The 'Allāfi made a night attack on the Ramal troops with his five hundred 'Arabs and warriors of Hind, and fell

upon them on all four sides with a great shout, and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and fifty elephants, besides horses and arms innumerable fell into their hands.

§ § § § § §

Dāhir then told his good and judicious minister to ask a favour. The minister replied, " I have no son who will carry down my name to posterity. I request, therefore, that orders may be given to have my name stamped on the silver coin of the realm, so that my name being on one face, and the King's on the other, it will not then be forgotten in Hind and Sind". Dāhir ordered that the minister's wish should be complied with.

MUHAMMAD QĀSİM PROCEEDS TO NĪRŪN AFTER THE
65.
CONQUEST OF DEBAL.

Historians have related, upon the authority of Banāna b. Hanṣala Kalābi, that after the conquest of Debal, where great Plunder was taken, Muḥammad Qāsim ordered the mangonels to be Placed on boats, and went towards the fort of Nīrūn. The boats went up the stream which they call Sindh Sāgar, but he himself took the road of Sissam, and when he arrived there, he received Ḥajjāj's answer to the announcement of the victory.

66.
THE ANSWER OF HAJJĀJ TO MUHAMMAD QĀSİM.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF NĪRŪN OBTAINING
67.
A PASSPORT FROM HAJJĀJ.

Historians relate that Abūlayth Tamimi says, on the authority of Ja'uba b. 'Aqba Salami, who accompanied Muḥammad-

-Qāsim, that after the capture of Debel, Muḥammad Qāsim proceeded to the fort of Nirūn, the inhabitants of which had provided themselves with an order of security from Ḥajjāj at the time that the army of the 'Arabs had been defeated, and Budail had been killed, and they had agreed to pay a tribute. He arrived at Nirūn, which is twenty-five farasangs from Debel, in six days. On the seventh day he encamped on a meadow near Nirūn, which is called Balhār, on the land of Baruzi (Burdī) and the waters of the Sihūn Mehrān had not yet reached it. The army was parched with thirst, and Muḥammad prayed to heaven for rain, and it fell, and filled all the streams and lakes near the city.

MUḤAMMAD QĀSIM SENDS CONFIDENTIAL MESSENGERS

68.

TO NIRŪN.

THE SAMĀNĪ, THE GOVERNOR OF NIRŪN COMES TO

PAY HIS RESPECTS TO MUḤAMMAD QĀSIM, AND

69

BRINGS PRESENT.

§ § § § § § § § §

Muḥammad Qāsim built at Nirūn a mosque on the site of the temple of Budh and ordered prayers to be proclaimed there in the Muḥammadan fashion, and appointed an Imām. After remaining there some days, he prepared to go to Siwistān, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Mehrān. He determined to conquer the whole country, and after the capture of Siwistān, to recross the river, and proceed against Dāhir. God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled!

THE EXPEDITION TO SIWISTĀN.

After Muḥammad Qāsim had settled affairs at Hirūn, he equipped his army, and under the guidance of the Samani took it towards Siwistān. He arrived by regular stages at a place called Bahraj, thirty Farasangs from Hirūn. There also was a Samani, who was chief of the rest of the inhabitants. In the fort the nephew of Dāhir was governor; his name was Bajhrā, the son of Chander. All the Samanis assembled and sent a message of Bajhrā, saying, we are Nāsik devotees. Our religion is one of Peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is Prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood. You are secure in a lofty Place, while we are open to the invasions of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects. We know that Muḥammad Qāsim holds a farṣān from Hajjāj, to grant Protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful, and keep their agreements. Bajhrā refused to listen to them. Muḥammad Qāsim sent spies to ascertain whether the citizens were unanimous or inimical. They reported that some armed men were outside the fort, and prepared to fight. Muḥammad Qāsim encamped opposite the gate leading to the sandy desert, because there was no opportunity to attack him there, as the inundation had risen on account of the rains, and the river Sindhū Rāwal flowed to the North of the selected ground.

BATTLE FOUGHT AT SIWISTĀN.

Muḥammad Qāsim ordered the mangonels to be prepared, and the fight was commenced. The Samanis prevented their chief from fighting, and told him that the Muḥammadan army was not to be overcome by him, and he would not be able to oppose it. He would be merely placing his life and property in danger. When he would not listen to the advice of his subjects, the Samanis sent this message to Muḥammad Qāsim: "All the subjects, farmers, and tradesmen, merchants, and the lower classes hate Bajhrā, and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you, or give battle." The Muḥammadan army were inspired with great courage on receiving the message, and fought day and night on the side of Muḥammad Qāsim. About a week after, the besieged stopped fighting, and when Bajhrā knew that the fort was about to fall, he came out from the northern gate, at the time when the world was veiled in darkness, crossed the river, and fled. He continued his flight till he reached the boundary of Budhiya. In those days the ruler of the Budhiya territory was Kaka, son of Kotak (Kotal), a Samani. His stronghold was Sisam, on the banks of the Kumbh. The people of Budhiya, and the chiefs of the surrounding places came to receive Bajhrā, and allowed him to encamp under the fort.

71.

SIWISTĀN IS TAKEN AND BAJHRA FLIES.

When Bajhrā went away, and the Samanis made submission, Muḥammad Qāsim entered the fort of Siwistān and gave quarter. He appointed his functionaries to discharge the civil duties of the territory, and brought the neighbouring places

under his rule. He took the gold silver wherever he found it, and appropriated all the silver, jewels and cash. But he did not take anything from the Samanis, who had made terms with him. He gave the army their due, and having deducted a fifth part of the whole, delivered it to the treasurer of Hajjāj, and wrote a report of the victory to Hajjāj. He appointed Rawats there. He also sent the plunder and the slaves to him, and he himself stopped at Siwistān. Two or three days after he had separated the fifth part, and distributed to the army their shares, he proceeded to the fort of Sisam, and the people of Budhiya and the chief of Siwistān rose up to fight. Muhammad-Qāsim marched with all his force, except the garrison, which was placed under the officer left in Siwistān, and alighted at a place called Bilhan, (Bandhan) on the banks of the Kumbh. The inhabitants of the vicinity were all infidels, who assembled together as soon as they saw the Muhammadan army, and determined to make a night attack on it, and disperse it.

THE INTERVIEW OF THE CHIEFS WITH KAKA KOTAK.

The chiefs of Budh went to Kaka Kotak (Kotak). The renas of Budhiya are descended from Au. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called 'Aundhar. They consulted with him, and said that they had determined to make a night attack on the army.

THE REPLY OF KAKA

Kaka said-" If you can accomplish it, well and good; but the babliks and monks have told me, according to their astrological books, that this country will be conquered by the

Muhammed's army.⁷¹ He placed a chief, whose name was Pahan,-- (Bahemen) at their head, and made gifts to the soldiers. There were one thousand brave fighting men under the command of this chief. They were all armed with swords, shields, javelins, spears, and daggers. When the army of the day fled for fear of the black legions of the night, they marched with the intention of making their night attack. As they approached the army of the 'Arabs, they missed the road, and were wandering about perplexed all the night from evening till daybreak. They were divided into four bodies, the one most advanced did not keep up a communication with that which was in the rear, nor did the left wing come in sight of the right, but they found themselves round the fort of Sisam. When the darkness of night was expelled by the light of the king of the stars, they entered the fort, and told the whole to Kaka Kotal (Kotak), saying that this their treacherous Plan had not proved successful. Kaka said, "You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage. I have achieved many enterprises at your head, but in the books of the Budhs it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindustan shall be taken by the Muhammadans, and I also believe that this will come to pass."

KAKA KOTAL GOES TO MUHAMMAD QASIM WITH BANANA, SON

72.

OF HANZALA, AND SUBMITS TO HIM.

Kaka with his followers and friends went to the army of the 'Arabs. When he had gone a little distance, Banana, son of Hanzala, whom Muhammed Qasim had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, met him and took him to Muhammed Qasim. When he obtained the

honour of coming before Muḥammad Qāsim, this general expressed his satisfaction, and gave him some good counsel. Kāka told him all about the Jats coming against him with the intention of making a night attack, and of their treacherous schemes. He also said that the Almighty God misled them in their way, so that they were wandering about the whole night in darkness and chagrin; and that the astrologers and credible Persons of his country would be taken by the Muḥammadan army. He had already seen this miracle, and he was sure that it was the will of God, and that no device or fraud would enable them to withstand the Muḥammadans. "Be firm under all circumstances," said he, "and set your mind at ease. You will overcome them. I make my submission to you, and I will be your counsellor, and assist you to the extent of my power. I will be your guide in overpowering and subduing your enemies. When Muḥammad Qāsim had heard all he had to say, he praised the great God, and in giving thanks placed his head upon the earth. He comforted Kāka and his dependants and followers, and promised him protection. He then asked him, "O Chief of Hind, what is your mode of bestowing honour?" Kāka said, "Granting a seat, and investing with a garment of silk, and tying a turban round the head. It is the custom of our ancestors, and of the Jat Samanis." When Kāka had invested him with the dress, all the chiefs and head men of the surrounding places wished to submit to him. He dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance, and brought those to submission who were inimically disposed. 'Abdu-'l-Malik, son of Qaisu-'l-Daqqī, was appointed his lieutenant to punish all enemies and revolters. Kāka plundered a people who were wealthy, and took much booty in cash, cloths, cattle, slaves,

and grain, so that cow's flesh was plentiful in the camp.

Muhammad Qāsim, having marched from that Place, came to the fort of Sissam. There he fought for two days, and God granted him victory. The infidels fled, and Bajhrā b. Qhander, uncle of Dāhir, and many of the officers and nobles who were under his command, lost their precious lives of the rest some ran away far beyond the territory of Budhiya, and some to the fort of Bahitlūr, between Sālūj and Qandābel, and from that Place solicited a written Promise of Protection. Those chiefs were enemies of Dāhir, and some of them had been slain-hence they revolted from him, and sent ambassadors, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirams weight of silver, and also sent hostages to Siwistān.

ORDERS ARE RECEIVED FROM HAJJĀJ, SON OF YUSUF,

TO CROSS THE MIHRĀN, AND A BATTLE IS

75.
FOUGHT WITH DĀHIR.

When Muhammad Qāsim had fixed the several tributes of those chiefs, he gave them fresh written agreements for their satisfaction. He appointed there Hameed, son of Wida'ul-Najdi and 'Abdu-'l-Qais, of the family of Jārūd, and as they were confidential persons he entrusted to them all the business of that Place.

When he had settled the affairs of Sissam, he received orders from Hajjāj to proceed to some other Place; to return to Hirūn, take measures to cross the Mihrān, and fight with Dāhir. He was directed to ask Almighty God for assistance in obtaining success and conquest; and after having obtained the

the objects of his expedition, he was to strengthen all the forts and Places throughout the country, and leave none in an unprovided state. When Muhammad Qasim read the farmān, and understood its contents he came to Nirūn and transmitted his despatches.

ARRIVAL OF THE ARMY OF THE 'ARABS AT NIRUN. ⁷⁴

After travelling over many stages, he halted at a fort which stands on the hill of Nirūn. In the vicinity of it there is a reservoir, the water of which is purer than the eyes of lovers and the meadows of it are more delightful than the gardens of 'Iram. He alighted there, and wrote a letter to Hajjāj, son of Yūsuf.

MUHAMMAD QASIM'S LETTER TO HAJJĀJ, SON OF YUSUF,
STATING PARTICULARS. ⁷⁵

In the name of the most merciful God, to the most exalted court of the noblest of the world, the crown of religion, and Protector of 'Ajem and Hind, Hajjāj, son of Yūsuf from the humble servant Muhammad Qasim greeting. After compliments, he represents that this friend, with all his officers, equipage, servants, and divisions of the Musalmān army, is quite well, affairs are going on well, and a continuance of happiness is attained. Be it known to your bright wisdom that, after traversing deserts and making dangerous marches, I arrived in the territory of Sind, on the banks of the Sihun, which is called Mīhrān. That Part of the territory which is around Badhiya's and is opposite the fort of Baghrūr

(Rāwar), on the Mihrān, is taken. This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dāhir Rāi. Some of the People who resisted have been taken Prisoners, and the rest through fear have fled away. As the imperative orders of Amir Hajjāj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nirūn, which is very near to the capital. It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted Prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken, and our treasures replenished. The forts of Siwistān and Sisam have been already taken. The nephew of Dāhir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islām or destroyed. Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Kuṭb is read, the call to Prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The takbir and Praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.

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76.

THE REPLY OF HAJJĀJ IS RECEIVED BY MUHAMMAD QĀSIM.

MUHAMMAD QĀSIM HEARS THAT DĀHIR RĀI HAD PROCEEDED

77.
TO NIRŪN.

78

MUHAMMAD QĀSIM DOES HONOUR TO THE NIRŪN SAMANI.

79.

MUHAMMAD QĀSIM FIGHTS ON THE BANKS OF THE MIHRĀN.

80.

KOKA B. KISĀYA ENTERS INTO TERMS WITH MUHAMMAD QĀSIM.

BANĀNA B. HANZALA IS SENT TO MOKA B. HISĀYA, AND
SEIZES HIM AND HIS ATTENDANTS.^{81.}

Then Banāna b. Hanzala went with his tribe and an interpreter to the place indicated, and seized Moka b. Hisāya, together with his family and twenty well-known Takers. When Banāna brought him before Muḥammad Qāsim, he was made over to him, and a grant was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand dirams were given to him as reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a Peacock, a chair, and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takers were favoured with robes and saddled horses. Historians relate that the first umbrellas of Rāngī, or chiefship which he gave, was this to Moka. At Moka's request, he gave the land and all the towns, fields, and dependencies within the borders of Beit, to him and his descendants; and having entered into a firm treaty with him, directed him to collect boats.

MUḤAMMAD QĀSIM SENDS A SYRIAN AMBASSADOR AND
MAULĀNĀ ISLĀMĪ TO DĀHIR.^{82.}

THE AMBASSADORS REACH DĀHIR.^{83.}

When they came to Dāhir, Maulānā Islāmī, of Debel, did not bow his head, or make any signs of reverence. Dāhir recognized him, and asked him why he failed in the usual respectful salutation, and enquired if any one had thrown obstacles in his way. The Maulānā of Debel replied, "When I was your subject it was right of me to observe the rules of

obedience; but now that I am converted and am subject to the king of Islām, it cannot be expected that I should bow my head to an infidel". Dāhir said, "If you were not an ambassador, I would punish you with death". The Maulānā replied, "If you kill me it will be no great loss to the Arabs; but they will avenge my death, and exact the Penalty from you".

1. 'Alī b. Hāmid -

b. 'Abī Bakr-u'l-Kufī.

"Chach Namah edited by 'Umar b. Mohammad Dāūd Potā; Hyderābād Dec- can 1939; P. 8 (See also Elliot & Dowson; "Historians of Sind"; Vol. I P. 32. Sunil Gupta (India) Calcutta; 1955.)

محرر این کتاب محمدی علی بن حامد بن ابی بکر کوفی، بعد از آنچه مدتی
عمر خود را در قراغت و لغت گذاشته بود، و خطی امل و نصیبی اجزل از دنیای
دون برداشته و روزی چند در حضرت اچیه مبارک برآسود و کثرت
ساخت در پناه و هشت سالگی در شهر سنه ثلث عشره و ستایه
از جمله اشغال به در دست داشت امراض نمود و تب نفیس و انیس و جلیس
ساخت -

2. 'Alī b. Hāmid Kūfī -

Op : Cit : (Persian Text) PP 8-9.

3. 'Alī b. Hāmid Kūfī -

"Historians of Sind; vol. I P. 33.

4. 'Ali b. Hamid Kufi : "Op. Cit. (Persian Text) PP. 9-10.

چون در طلب آن نفس انبارة را مكلّف شدم و از حضرت اچه مبارک
روی بشهر ارور و بکهر آوردم که انمه آن مواضع از حسب و نسب عرب اند.
چون بدان شهر رسیده شد مولانا اقامتی اسمعیل بن علی بن محمد بن موسی
بن طالی بن یعقوب بن طالی بن موسی بن محمد بن شهاب بن عثمان
الثقفی که در فصاحت کمان فضل است و در ملاحت جان عقل
است و در فنون علم و زهد بی نظیر و در سنوف بلاغت بی نظیر دیده
شده استخیار کرده آمد و گفت : تاریخ این فتح بخط آباء و اجداد ما بلغته
تجازی در کتاب مسطور است و از یکدیگر میراث شده بوده
میرسد ، فاما چون در پیره تازی و حجاب حجازی بود و در میان
اهل عجم منتشر نشد .

5. ibid "Introduction" by Dr. Muḥd: b. 'Umar
Dāūdpoṭa P. 4.
6. Elliot & Dowson : Op. Cit. P. 32 "Chech Nāms" (Persian
Text) ; (Introduction) ; P. 5.
7. ibid ; (Persian Text) ; P. 12.

صاحب الشیف و القلم ، اجل کبیر مؤید مظفر منصور عین الملک فخر الدوله
والدین ، نظام الاقالیم جلال الوزراء حسین بن ابی بکر بن محمد الاشعری
.... عرضه افتد ، تا بتشریف ملاحظه و نظر مطالعه مشرف گردد و به
عتر قبول میمون و مقبول گردد .

8. ibid ; (Persian Text) ; PP. 11-12.

و این دولت که از شهاب و صولت اهل عرب و شام بود و بشیتر فتح فرسان
و عجم بردست جد ایشان معظم افتخار آل قریش الی موسی الاشعری
رضیه عنه بود .

9. *ibid*; (Persian Text); P. 11.

صدر جهان، دستور صاحبقران، شرف الملک رضی الدوله و الدین، جلال
الوزراء صاحب السیف والقلم.....

10. *ibid*; (Persian Text); P. 10.

چون بنده را بر آن کتاب اطلاع افتاد، کتابی بود بخواهر حکمت آراسته، و بدور
موسخت پیراسته، و اصناف شجاعت و مردانگی اهل عرب و شام در وی
مبرهن، و انواع شهامت و قزاقی در وی متمکن.

11. *ibid*; (Persian Text); PP 247-248.

12. *ibid*; (Persian Text); P. 10.

گفتم: تاریخ این فتح بخط آباء و اجداد ما بلغة حجازی در کتاب
مسطور است، و از یکدیگر میراث شده یورش میرسد -

13. Elliot & Dowson: OP. Cit. P. 36.

14. *Ibid*; PP. 37-38.

15. *ibid*; Vol. I. P. 38.

15(b) 'Ali b. Hamid Kufi: "Ghach Nama"; (Persian Text); from
P. 14 to 17.

16. *Ibid* _____ P. 17.

17. *Ibid* _____ P. 20.

18. *Ibid* _____ P. 21.

19. *Ibid* _____ P. 23.

20. *Ibid* _____ P. 25.

21. *Ibid* _____ P. 27.

22. *Ibid* _____ P. 29.

23. *Ibid* _____ P. 30.

24. *Ibid* _____ P. 31.

25. *Ibid* _____ P. 31.

26. *Ibid* _____ P. 32.

27. *Ibid* _____ P. 33.

28.	Ibid	P. 34.
29.	Ibid	P. 35.
30.	Ibid	P. 36.
31.	Ibid	P. 37.
32.	Ibid	P. 38.
33.	Ibid	P. 39.
34.	Ibid	P. 40.
35.	Ibid	P. 41.
36.	Ibid	P. 42.
37.	Ibid	P. 44.
38.	Ibid	P. 44.
39.	Ibid	P. 46.
40.	Ibid	P. 47.
41.	Ibid	P. 48.
42.	Ibid	P. 49.
43.	Ibid	P. 50.
44.	Ibid	P. 50.
45.	Ibid	P. 51.
46.	Ibid	P. 51.
47.	Ibid	P. 52.
48.	Ibid	P. 53.
49.	Ibid	P. 54.
50.	Ibid	P. 55.
51.	Ibid	P. 56.
52.	Ibid	P. 56.
53.	Ibid	P. 58.
54.	Ibid	P. 59.
55.	Ibid	P. 59.

56 Ibid	P. 59.
57. Ibid	P. 61.
58. Ibid	P. 65.
59. Ibid	P. 67.
60. Ibid	P. 68.
61. Ibid	P. 68.
62. Ibid	P. 69.
63. Ibid	P. 70.
64. Ibid	PP. 71 - 72.
65. Ibid	P. 115.
66. Ibid	P. 115.
67. Ibid	P. 116.
68. Ibid	P. 117.
69. Ibid	P. 118.
70. Ibid	P. 118-119-120.
71. Ibid	PP. 120-121-122.
72. Ibid	PP. 122-123-124.
73. Ibid	P. 124.
74. Ibid	PP. 124-125.
75. Ibid	PP. 125 -126.
76. Ibid	P. 127.
77. Ibid	P. 130.
78. Ibid	P. 131.
79. Ibid	P. 133.
80. Ibid	P. 134.
81. Ibid	PP. 135- 136.
82. Ibid	P. 136.
83. Ibid	P. 136.

MAKHDUM NUH.

The name of Makhdūm Nuh was Lutf-'ullāh b. Mīmat-'Ullāh b. Muḥammad 'Ishāq b. Shihāb-'ul-Dīn b. Fakhr-'ul-Dīn. He is descendant of 'Abū-Bakr Siddiq¹, the first Caliph, successor of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be upon Him) and so he is called Siddiqi². He was born on 27th Ramaḍān 911 A.H./21st Feb: 1506 A.D. at Hālā. He acquired his early education in Persian and Arabic. He had mastery over the exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān and he had learnt it by heart. He used to say that 'I have been bestowed the following four things by the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be upon him) as a present'³.

- (1) Talqeen-i-Dhikr (Teachings to Praise God).
- (2) Tafseer-i-Qur'ān (The Exegesis of Holy Qur'ān).
- (3) Bayān-i-Hadīth (The expression of tradition).
- (4) Ta'bir-i-Khowāb (The interpretation of dream).

Makhdūm Nuh belonged to a Suharwardiya sect of Sūfis and he was an orthodox Sunni. He was the follower of following four things⁴:-

- (1) Itbā'ī -Muḥammad (Peace be upon him) (Obedience of Holy Prophet).
- (2) Muqaddirāt-i-Khudawandi (As destined by God).
- (3) Tafheem -i-Tafseer. (The understanding of exegesis).
- (4) Namāz bā Jamā'it (Prayers with congregation).

⁵. Makhdūm Nuh lived during the days of the following rulers:-

1. Jām Nizām-'ul-Dīn alias Jām Hīndo (d. 914 A.H./ 1508 A.D.).
2. Jām Feroz (he was defeated by Shāh Beg Arghūn in

(927 A.H./1521 A.D.)

3. Mirzā Shāh Beg Arghūn (d.928 A.H./1522 A.D.).
4. Mirzā Shāh Hassan Arghūn(d.962 A.H./1554 A.D.).
5. Mirzā 'Isā Khān Tarkhān (d.974 A.H./1566 A.D.)
6. Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān (d.993 A.H./1585 A.D.).
7. Mirzā Jāni Beg Tarkhān (d.1009 A.H./1600 A.D.).

Mirzā Jāni Beg was defeated by 'Abdu'l Rahīm Khān-Khānān in 1000 A.H./1591 A.D. and the latter annexed Sind to the Mughal Empire of Akbar, the great.

Indo-Pāk Sub-continent was ruled by the following rulers during this Period :-

1. Sikander Lodhi 1489-1517 A.D./895-923 A.H.
2. 'Ibrāhīm Lodhi 1517-1526 A.D./923-933 A.H.
3. Bābar Mughal 1526-1530/933-937 A.H.
4. Humāyūn Mughal (First time) 1530-1540 A.D./937-947 A.H.
5. Sher Shāh Afghān and his successor 1540-1555 A.D./947-963 A.H.
6. Humāyūn (Second time) 1555 A.D./963 A.H.
7. Akbar, the Great 1556-1605 A.D./964-1014 A.H.

During the Period^{of} Makhdūm Nūḥ following ⁶governors were appointed by Akbar to Bakhar, the then capital of upper Sind :-

1. Nawwāb Gasū Khān 982 A.H./1574 A.D.
2. Tarsū Khān. 983 A.H./1575 A.D.
3. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ameer b. Mir 'Abd-'ul 983 A.H./1575.
4. Sayyid 'Ab-'ul-Faḍl b. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ameer 984 A.H./1576 A.D.

The translation of Sūrah "Fātiha" begins :-

ابتدای کتب بنام خدای روزی دهنده رحمت کننده

شکر و سپاس و ستایش مر خدای را که پروردگار عالمیان است ①
روزی دهنده رحمت کننده ② بادشاه روز حساب و جزا ③ تو خداوند
رای پرستیم و از تو خداوندی یاری و مدد می خواهیم ④ ثابیت دار ما را
راه راست ⑤ راه آنها که نعمت کردی بر ایشان ⑥ نه راه آنها
که خشم گرفته است بر ایشان یعنی یهودان و نه راه گمراهان یعنی
ترسایان ⑦

The translation of some of the 'Āyats of Sūrah "Baqra"

are :-

بنام خدای رحمت کننده عالم در دنیا بی روزی و در عقبی بمغفرت قیروزی ①

منم خدای که می دانم ① این کتاب عظیم الشان هیچ شکی نیست در آن
راه نماینده ایست سر پر هینر گاران ② آنها که می گروند بعیب و
ناپیدا و بر پایی می دارند نماز را و از آنچه مالک آن گردانیدم ایشان
را نفع و ضرر می کنند ③ و آنها که می گروند به آنچه فرستاده شد بتو
ای محمد از کتب و آنچه فرستاده شده از پیش تو از کتب و برای آخرت
و قیامت ایشان بی مانند ④

5. 'Itmād Khān Khawājā Sarā 985 A.H./1577 A.D.
6. Nawwāb Fataḥ Khān 986 A.H./1578 A.D.
7. Nawwāb Ṣādiq Khān 994 A.H./1585 A.D.
8. Nawwāb 'Isma'īl Qulī Khān 996 A.H./1587 A.D.
9. Nawwāb Sheroyā Sultān 997 A.H./1588 A.D.
10. Nawwāb Ṣādiq Khān (next time) 998 A.H./1589 A.D.

Makhdūm Nūḥ was a great scholar of his time and he was well-versed in Persian Arabic and Sindhi. It is said that at the age of seven he heard "Azān" (the cry for Prayer) and repeated the Kalmaḥ in reply. At the age of fourteen he is said to have acquired a vast amount of spiritual knowledge, communicated to him spiritually by "Ali", the Fourth Caliph⁷.

He was invited to Thatta by the learned men and his knowledge about the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān was examined by them and they all were surprised with his⁸ erudition. He died on Thursday, the 27th Dhi-'ul-Qa'd 998 A.H/⁹ 15th Sept, 1590 A.D.

Makhdūm Nūḥ translated the Holy Qur'ān into Persian. This is the first translation of Qur'ān into Persian in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. After this Shāh Wali-'ullāh (d. 1176 A.H./1762 A.D.) had translated the Holy Qur'ān into Persian. The scribe of Makhdūm Nūḥ's Persian translation was Bahā'ul-Dīn Godiriya, one of his followers.¹⁰ He completed copying the Holy Qur'ān on 17th Safer 1013 A.H/¹¹ 5th July, 1604 A.D.

1. Mirsā Qalich Beg: "History of Sind"; Vol. II; P.288.
2. Makhdūm Nūh: "Rāzi-i-Mā'rifat alias" "Tarjma-
-i-Qur'ān Sherif" (Introduction)
P.2. Hyderābād; edited by Dr. Ghulām
Mustafā Khān. 1962.
3. Ibid; P.2.
4. Ibid; P.2.
5. Quarterly "Mehran"; Vol. 15; No. 4. PP. 129-130, Hyderābād
1964 (An article by Professor, Mahbūb 'Alī Chenna;
"Makhdūm Nūh's contemporaries".)
6. Khudē-^{lād} Khān: "Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sind"; P.73.
7. Mirsā Qalich Beg: "History of Sind"; Vol. II. P.288.
8. Ibid; P.73.
9. Sayyid 'Abd-'ul-Qādir "Hadiqat-'ul-Auliya"; P.139.
Tattawi:
10. Makhdūm Nūh: "Rāzi-i-Mā'rifat"; (Introduction);
P.5.
11. Ibid; P.6.
12. Ibid; (Persian Text); P.2.
13. Ibid; P.5.

CHAPTER -II-

THE ARGHUNS, THE TARKHANS AND THE MUGHAL AGENTS.

THE ARGHUNS

(927-962 A.H/ 1520-1554-5 A.D)

The Arghūn dynasty appears firstly in the history with the name of 'Amir ¹Hasan Begri during the period of Abū-Sa'īd Mirzā, the great grand son of Timūr (855-873 A.H/1451-1468 A.D). 'Amir Dhu'l-Nūn Arghūn (d.913 A.H./ 1507 A.D.) son of Amir Hasan Begri was made the governor of Qandhār in 884 A.H./ 1479 A.D. by Sultan Husayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (d.910 A.H/1504 A.D). and afterwards he was called the ruler of Qandhār². He ruled over Qandhār for nine years and after his death (913 A.H./ 1507 A.D.), his son Shāh Beg or known as Shujā' Beg (d.22 Shu'bān 928 A.H./1522 A.D.), came on the throne. He annexed Pishin, Shāwl (Quetta) and Mastūng to his territory². During this period the emperor Bābur (d.937 A.H./1530 A.D.) intended to capture Qandhār. Shāh Beg felt himself insecure and marched to Thatta through Ieki Hills in Muharram 927 A.H./1520 A.D. At this time Jām Feroz was ruling over Sind. A decisive battle was fought between Arghūns and Sammāns. At last Daryā Khān, the famous general of Jām Feroz was killed. The Arghūns plundered the city ruthlessly for about a week and many citizens were made prisoners. Shāh Beg restored Thatta to Jām Feroz and advanced to Sehwan²². He then reached in Shāwl and

2. Sayyid Mir Muhammad Tattawi "Tarkhān Nāma"; (Persian Text); 27.
22. Ibid; P. 21.

Sewi. He also conquered Bakhar and destroyed 42 villages² of Beloches who were not co-operating with him and had troubled him. He wanted to conquer Gujrat, but died in 928A.H/1521A.D.

On the death of Shah Beg, Shah Hassan (or Shah Husayn)³ Arghun succeeded to the throne. He received intelligence that how Jam Feroz and the People of Thatta had heard with delight of the demise of Shah Beg, and had beaten their drums in token of joy and gratification. He, therefore ordered his army to march on Thatta in order to destroy Jam Feroz, being utterly unable to oppose the army marching against him, hastily fled from the city, and crossing the river in despair took his way towards Kacchh. He collected there an army of about 50,000 horse and foot comprising of Sindhi, and Sammas.⁴ He, then advanced to Thatta. On hearing of the force which Jam Feroz was bringing against him, Shah Hassan marched out with the view of bringing the enemy to an engagement. He knew it to be the 'Custom of the People of Sind and Hind',⁵ when resolved upon fighting to the death, to leave their horses, and bare-headed and bare-footed, tie themselves together by each other's clothes and waist bands. This showed the despair of the enemy, and the consequent assurance of victory to themselves, gave the order for the attack. On this, his troops rushed vehemently to the Sindhi forces, spreading consternation and dismay, in the ranks of the enemy. From morning to evening the bloody battle was fought and about 20,000 men of Jam Feroz were slain in the battle field and

Shāh Hassan returned in triumph to Thatta.

After the lapse of two years in 930 A.H./1523-24 A.D. Shāh Hassan set out to conquer Multān. When reached in the city of 'Uch' he was confronted by an army of Balochis and Langhā⁶s. This news of the Shāh's success reached the ears of Sultān Mahmūd Langhā, the ruler of Multān. He collected an army of 80,000 horse and foot, comprising of Jats, Rind, and other tribes. But Shaykh Shujā⁷ Bukhārī, his son-in-law gave a poison to the Sultān and by which he breathed his last. The army, being thus deprived of its head, became confused and frustrated. The Langhās placed his son Sultān Husayn on the throne and a treaty was negotiated between Shāh Hassan and Sultān Husayn. Then Shāh Hassan set out for 'Uch' and he built a strong fort there. He also captured Multān but presented it to Babūr towards the end of 932 A.H./1525 A.D. who gave it to his son Kāmran⁸.

In the old age of Mirzā Shāh Hassan, the Arghūn and the Tarkhān chiefs revolted against him in Thatta and elected Mirzā 'Isā I, Tarkhān as their ruler. Shāh Hassan died in Safar 962 A.H./1554-55 A.D. He had no male heir, except a daughter, Chūchak Begum.

Mirzā Shāh Hassan was a great warrior and a brave soldier. He was an efficient administrator. He fought many battles and was lucky enough in winning them all. He was the pupil of Makhdūm Mirān (d. 949 A.H./1542 A.D.) a celebrated scholar of Thatta. Mirzā Shāh Hassan was a poet

and his nom-de-Plume was "Se¹⁰pāhi". He himself was a learned man and liked the company of learned men.

THE TARKHĀNS.

(962-1000 A.H. / 1554-1591 A.D.)

ORIGIN OF TARKHĀN :-

The 'Tarkhān' is the title by which a person is pardoned for his offences. The 'Tarkhān' is allowed to enter the emperor's court without permission. He is free from the taxes and other government dues.

'Tarkhān' is said to be the name of a tribe,¹² which belongs to "Alēt Kurd", the inhabitant of Rāwend. It is also the proper noun and is the name of seventh country of the world.¹³

الاقليم السابع : اين اقليم که بقدر منسوب است و
از آنجا ببلاد يا جوج و ما جوج گذرد پس بر بلاد
کيماک و شمال بلاد خلع و جنوب بلدان ترخان
گذرد

¹⁴
It is stated that oneday, in his youth, 'Amir Timūr Gorgān (d. 25th Sh'abān 736 A.H. / 9th April 1336 A.D.), going out on hunting excursion lost his way. The night was dark and the cold was extreme. Loitering about in the jungle for some time he came to some tents or huts where in there was a light. The occupants of the huts believing him to be a thief, came out in a body to beat him. But soon learning who he was, took him in their huts and lodged him in one of their best cellars

under ground and tried their best to keep him comfortable. This was when Timūr was 18 years old. At the age of 34, when he occupied the throne of a vast empire he called those people and enlisted them in his service, simply to patronize them, without requiring them to do any service at all. On this account he gave them the title of "Tarkhān" which means "Excuse of Services".

Some say 'Tarkhān' was originally 'Tarkhūn' meaning 'wet with blood'. This was because the ancestors of these Tarkhāns had once fought a battle with some enemy and there was much bloodshed in it, that they all returned 'wet with blood'.

It is said that 'Tarkhān' is the title which was conferred by Chingiz Khān (6924 A.H./ 1318 A.D.) on two brothers who had informed him before the attack of Aung-¹⁵Khān of the Karsite Mongols.

Another origin is ascribed to a set of Tarkhān by Timūr. 'Amir Eku Timūr was one of the 'Amirs (Chiefs) of Timūr. He fought a very grim battle against Toqtamish, Khān of Qipchāq, but was killed.

E. Stanley Lane Poole, writes about Toqtamish :-

"Toqtamish is 'the last really great figure in the history of the Golden Horde'. After seizing the throne of the white Horde he marched upon Western Qipchāq defeated Mamāy, the king-maker of Sarāy, and by this victory in 1378 A.D./780 A.H.

(Continued on P.84).

His surviving relatives showed a great bravery and devotion which was witnessed by Timūr. Thus, Timūr conferred the title of 'Tarkhān' upon the descendants of 'Amir Eku Timūr'. According to "Tarkhān Nāma", the Tarkhāns of Sind and Qandhār trace their origin from 'Amir Eku Timūr'.¹⁶

We know that after the death of Mirzā Shāh Hasan, the territory of Sind was divided between two 'Amirs' (Chiefs) of his dynasty. Upper Sind, the centre of which was Bakhār came into the Possession of Sultān Mahmūd Kokaltāsh¹⁷ in Rabi -'ul-thani, 962 A.H./1554-55 A.D.; and Mirzā 'Isā, the founder of Tarkhān dynasty of Sind, was elected as the ruler of Thatta in the beginning of Jamād-'ul-Awwal 962 A.H./¹⁸ 1554 - 55 A.D.

Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, appointed his son Mirzā Sālih as his heir during his life. Mirzā Sālih was a brave soldier and he defeated the army of Sultān Mahmūd Bakhārī and conquered the fort of Siwistan.

Put an end to the division between the White and Blue Hordes, and united Eastern and Western Qipchāq under his sole rule. Hence forward Orda's family ruled the Blue Horde, bringing no doubt the cream of the White Horde with them, and their original camping-grounds gradually Passed into the hands of the descendants of Shaybān, under Toqtāmish the Golden Horde recovered much of its Prestige. A great campaign was carried into Russia, Moscow was sacked and burnt (1382), and the Grand principality was ravaged with the ancient fury of the Mongols. This revived of the glory of Qipchāq, however, was only the flicker of a dying torch. Toqtāmish had misfortune or the ingratitude to quarrel

Sultān Mahmūd collected his forces and fought a hard battle with him, but was defeated by Mirzā 'Isā. At the request of Sultān Mahmūd, the conqueror allowed him to continue to hold Bhakhar.

Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī son of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān (d. 995 A.H./1585 A.D.) who was in Kachh, advanced to Sind with the forces of Rājputa to fight with Mirzā Ṣālih. His forces met with an army of the Prince Mirzā Ṣālih. A fierce battle was fought and Prince's forces defeated the army of Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī. After wards a man, named Murīd Baloch killed Mirzā Ṣālih (970 A.H./1562 A.D.)¹⁹ treacherously.

Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān wanted to subdue Sultān Mahmūd of Bhakhar. Finding his means of coercion insufficient, he despatched an embassy to Basseln, the seat of government of the Northern Portuguese Province, to ask for military aid.²⁰

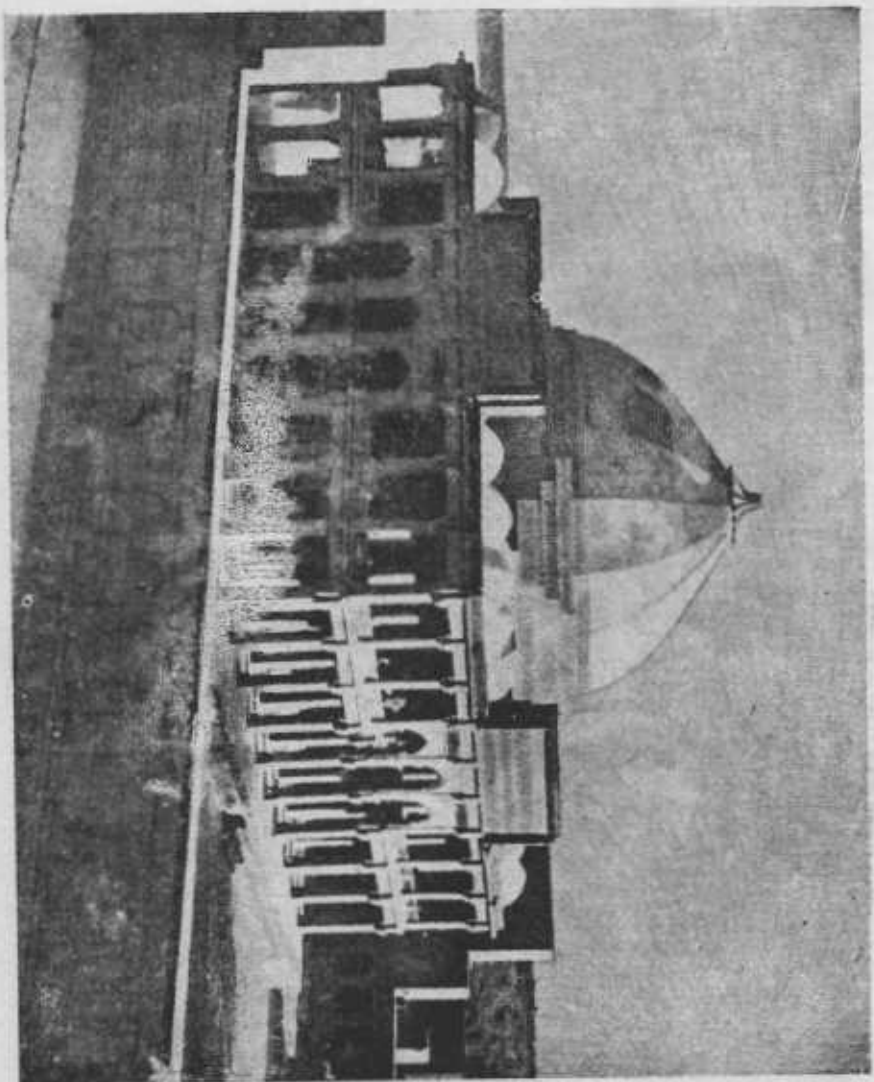
with the Prince who had helped him to success; and no one offended Timūr with impunity. The great conqueror in two campaigns, one marked by the battle of UrtuPa on 18th June, 1391, and then second by a crushing defeat near the Terek in 1395, when Toqtāghī had return from exile, destroyed for ever the Power of the Khāna of Qipchāq. Toqtāghī indeed re-entered Sarāy in 1398, after Timūr's departure, but he was speedily driven out again by Timūr Qutlūgh, son of his old enemy, Urūs, and forced to take refuge with the Lithuanian Prince Vitut, whom he involved in war with the Tātars; he died in 1406.

²²⁷ (STANLEY LANE POOLE, "The Muhammadan Dynasties," pp. 321-228, Khayats Beirut; 1966).

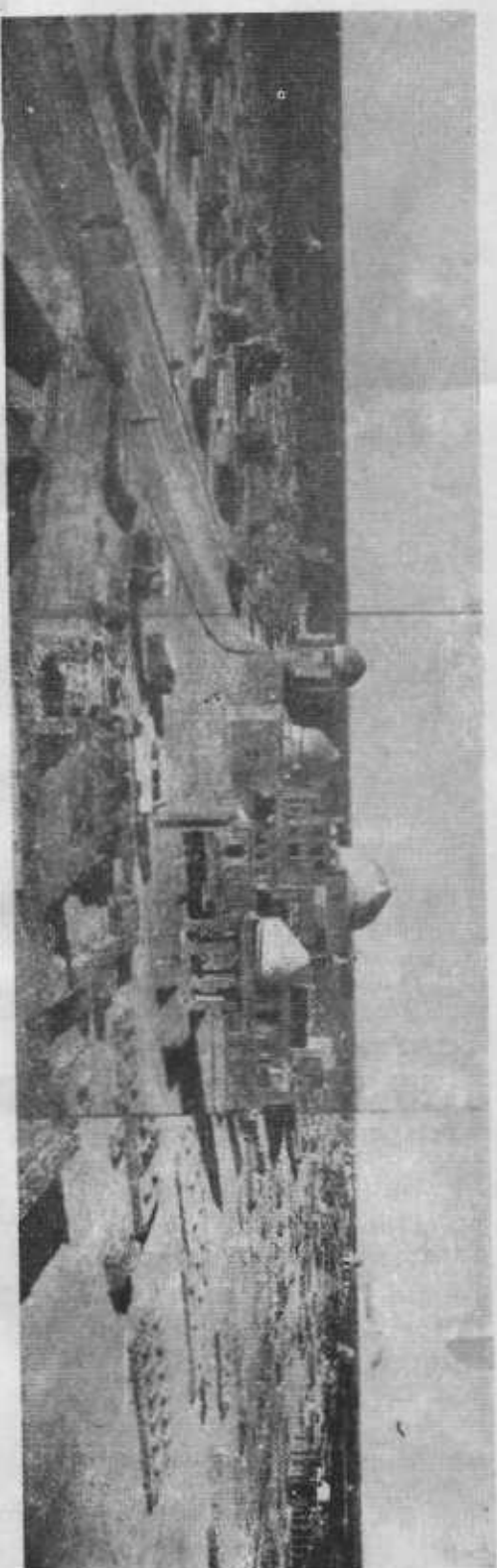
The government of the Northern Portuguese sent Pedro Barreto Rolin to Sind, with a fleet of twenty-eight ships to assist Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān. The latter had advanced ^{against} Sultān Mahmūd, and before he could arrive, he received a news about the sack of Thatta in 963 A.H./ 1555 A.D. The Portuguese had entered the city of Thatta and killed over 8,000 ²¹ men. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jamī' Masjid of Mir Farrukh Arghūn, which they quitted, ²² on hearing of the Mirzā's approach.

Mirzā 'Isā, nominated Jān Bābā' as his heir after the death of his favourite son, Mirzā Sālih. But his wife Mah Begum recommended him to declare Mirzā Bāqī, as his heir to the throne. He refused her and said that Mirzā Bāqī was a cruel and possessed a villainous nature. The people will suffer under his rule, and she herself would perish by his ²³ hand. At last Mirzā Bāqī killed Jān Bābā the son of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān as well as Mah Begum and the verdict of Mirzā 'Isā ²³ proved true.

After the death of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān (973 A.H./ 1565 A.D.) Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī ascended the throne. He was an atrocious man. He had filled his treasury and granaries with the property of the public which was taken by force. It is stated that he was very stingy and covetous. He gave corn to his servants instead of cash. He used to distribute many ²⁵ men by cutting off their ears and noses. The author of "Tarkhān Namā" writes that no one could enjoy sound sleep,



1, The Tomb of Mirzā 'Isā II. (Makli Hill, Thatta).



2, A view of the Tomb of Mirzā 'Isā II and other Tombs. (Makli Hill, Thatta).

due to the extreme cruelty of Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī. He killed
²⁷
 many noble, and learned persons.

In 993 A.H./1585 A.D. Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī, committed
 suicide with his dagger.²⁸ After his death Mirzā Jāni Beg
 succeeded the throne. He had become popular with his nobility
 as well as to the public. In 999 A.H./1590 A.D. Emperor
 'Akbar sent Khān Khānān to subdue Mirzā Jāni Beg. The latter
 fought a very grim battle, but surrendered himself and after-
 wards he was brought to Delhi and was given a warm welcome. He
 remained there till he died of apoplexy in 1008 A.H./1599 A.D.
 He was buried in Makli. The country of Thatta was granted to
²⁹
 Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, son of deceased Mirzā.

Mirzā Ghāzi Beg was a brave soldier. He defeated
 'Abu'l Qāsim Arghūn, ruler of Nagarpur. His bravery impressed
 the Emperor Jahāngir (d. 1627 A.D./1037 A.H.) very much. Once
 Ghāzi Beg was informed about the high-handedness of Khusrāu
 Khān Chirkas and his men in Sind. He deputed Hindū Khān
 and Mānak Chānd, the two Hindū chiefs to depose Khusrāu Khān
 Chirkas. They both reached in Nagarpur for obtaining the
 help from the family of Qāsim Beglar. But Beglars created
 violence against them in which Mānak Chānd was killed and
 Hindū Khān was captured in a siege. When Mirzā Ghāzi Beg
 knew this, he sent Rāi-i-Singh, the son of Mānak Chānd from
 Qandhār with a large army. Rāi-i-Singh with a great difficu-
³⁰
 -lty removed Khusrāu Khān Chirkas. Mean while the news of
 Mirzā Ghāzi Beg's death was spread in the country. It is

said that some of his relatives and friends became jealous of him and they instigated his house hold servant, named 'Abdu'l Latif, who put to death Mirzā Ghāzi Beg in the year 1021 A.H./³¹1612 A.D.

His body was brought to Thatta and buried in a mausoleum, near his father.

Mirzā Ghāzi Beg was a great soldier and noble man. He was very good administrator. He used to go in disguise at night to see the condition of the people. He was very generous and bountiful. He possessed big Jagirs of Qandhār, Thatta, Sehwan, and Multān, but was always poor and oftenly he used to remain in need of money.

He was a learned man and composed poetry under his nom-de-plume "Qari"^{or 32} "Muqarrir" (Reader).

Mirzā Ghāzi Beg had no issue and Khusrāu Khān Chirkas took the possession of Thatta. He gave rigorous punishment to his Hindū successors.³³ He nominated Mirzā 'Abd-'ul-'Alī .b. Mirzā Farrukh .b. Mirzā Shāh Rukh .b. ^{Mirzā .b.} Mirzā Bāqi on the throne at Thatta and Khusrāu Khān himself became the ruler,³⁴ because 'Abdu'l 'Alī was in a very tender age at that time.

When Jahāngir learnt about the appointment of one of Mirzā Muhammad Bāqi's relatives, without his permission he sent Mirzā Rustam Qandhārī to Thatta as the Sūbedār in place of Khusrāu Khān Chirkas. But Jahāngir was in hurry and desired that his orders should be carried out earlier. So he

appointed Mir 'Abdu'l Razā'ī. Mā'mūrī as a disbursing Officer. He reached in Thatta and dethroned Mirzā 'Abd-'ul-'Alī. Mean while Mirzā Rustam arrived ther. Thus ended the rule of Tarkhāns in Sind, except Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, II (d. 1662 A.H. / 1651 A.D.) who was appointed as a governor of Thatta for some days, by Jahāngir about the close of his reign. Southern Sind was annexed with Delhi by Jahāngir and forty Subedārs or governors ruled Sind after another.

The Mughal rule in Sind (1612-1737 A.D. / 1021 - 1150 A.H.) was governed by forty governors and most of them were covetous and served their own purpose. Thus the administration suffered a lot. We know that Mirzā Rustam, Nawwāb Murād Khān and 'Itir Khān were very tyrannical and quite indifferent to the well-being of their people. In the later part of Mughal power, the province of Sind had native governors viz. the DāūdPotās, who were responsible and they established law and order in Sind. Kalhorās succeeded as governors in 1700-1701 A.D. / 1112 - 1113 A.H. and they consolidated their power till they declared themselves independent ruler in 1737 A.D. / 1150 A.H.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS.

The Arghūn and Tarkhān Princes were literary people and they attracted to their courts, the men of literature and scholarly tastes. Persian Scholars and learned men were Patronized by them. Shāh Beg Arghūn himself was a great scholar and he composed a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān in Persian.³⁶ Shāh Husayn Arghūn, who was not only a great warrior, but he was also a writer and a Poet of considerable merit.³⁷ He liked the company of learned and pious men of his time.³⁸ "It was in his days that schools were opened in the Urban areas of the Province for the advancement of Persian, and Hāshim Kirmāni alias Shāh Jahāngir (the distinguished author of "Maḡhar-'ul-Āthar" and "Maḡhar-'ul-Adwār" corresponding to "Tuḡfat-'ul-Ahrār" and Makhṣa-nu'l Asrār Jāmi and Nizāmī respectively), came ^{and} settled down in Sindh".

The Tarkhāns Possessed 'some literary tastes' and Mirzā Jāni Beg who was wise and valiant, witty and generous composed the Poems under nom-de-Plume "Halimi".³⁹ His son Ghāzi Beg was also a scholar and a Poet. His Tarkhalluṣ⁴⁰ was "Waqā'i". He Patronized the men of letters and he was very generous towards them and many Poets adorned his court. Particular⁴¹ Mir Hiṣṣat-'ullāh "Walsi", Mullā Asad "Qiss-Khwān", Hakīm Faḡfur-i-Gilāni, Mullā Murshid Brūjirdi, Talib-i-Amuli and Shedā 'Isfahāni. Thus, Sindhis acquired Persian language rapidly and Persian became the vehicle of thoughts and emotions. The Histories of Sindh e.g. Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī, Tārīkh-i-Sindh, alias Tārīkh-i-Muṣṣūmī and Beglar Nāma etc.

were written in Persian. Besides this biographies of the saints of Sind; like "Tadhkiratu'l Auliya" were composed in that language. Hence forward the books on fiqh (Jurisprudence), Hadith (Tradition) Tafsir (exegesis), and in ⁴² Taqawuf (mysticism) were written in Persian as well as in Arabic.

The Mughal rule over Sindh played prominent part for the advancement of art and literature. All the state record was maintained in Persian and this policy opened avenues in the progress of Persian language. Most of the ⁴³ Mughal governors of Thatta were men of letters and they patronized the scholars of that time. "Nawwab Amir Khan, 'Abul Muzaf Khan, Hifzullah Khan, 'Amin-ul-Din Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan, Mahabat Khan, Sayfullah Khan and Mir Lutf Ali Khan", who remained the governors of high rank at Thatta during the Mughal rule, were learned men of their time. Nawwab Mir Amin-ul-Din Khan, b. Sayyid Abul Makarim ⁴⁵ was a great author and he used to sit in the company of scholars. He composed "Rughbat-ul-Funun" and "Ma'lumat-ul-Afsa" in Persian -Prose: Nawwab Lutf Ali Khan alias Mir Muhammad Shafi ⁴⁶ had mastery over Persian Prose as well as Poetry. His Takhalluq was "Himmat". He is known as the teacher of Muhammad Wahsin Tattawi, a famous poet of Kalhora Period. In 1699 A.D./1111 A.H. Captain Hamilton visited Thatta and he says that there were as many as ⁴⁷ "four hundred colleges in Thatta where youths were instructed in Theology, Philosophy and Politics".

1. Sayyid Mir Muhammad "Tarikhān Nāma" (Persian Text);
Tattawi : PP 6-7.
2. Mirzā Qalich Beg : "History of Sind"; Vol II, P. 70.
3. Sayyid Mir Muhammad Op. Cit : (Persian Text); PP 24-25.
Tattawi :
4. Ibid; (Persian Text) ; P. 25.
5. Ibid; () P. 26
6. Ibid; () P. 27
7. Ibid; () P. 29
8. Mirzā Qalich Beg : Op. Cit. Vol. II; P. 79.
9. Shāh Hasan made a rift between Humāyūn and Kāmran on
Chūchak Begam. He firstly offered to Humāyūn, then
married her to Kāmran in 953 A.H./1546 A.D. When
Humāyūn defeated Kāmran and blinded him; he (Kāmran)
reached in Bhakhar for the intention of Mecca. At
that time, Shāh Hasan attempted to take her with
him, but she didn't want to be away from her husband
in such a miserable situation. Kāmran died in Mecca
in dhī'l-Hajj 964 A.H./1556 A.D and Chūchak Begam
died seven months after her husband's death (Mir
Moṣūm : "Tārīkh-i-Sind" ; PP. 182 -196).
10. Dr. Sadrāngani : "Persian Poets of Sind"; P. 20
11. Qānif "Makli Nāma"; Annotations, (by
Sayyid Husām-'ul-Din Rāghidī);
P. 612 : (See S. Mir Muhammad :
"Tarikhān Nāma" (Persian Text);
P. 4.

12. "Political Geography of Kihān"; P.57, (as quoted by Sayyid Hūsām-'ul-Dīn Rāshidī in "Maklī Nāma" Annotations; P.612).
13. "Ḥabīb-'ul-Saīr", Vol: IV; P.659 (as quoted by Hūsām-'ul-Rāshidī in "Maklī Nāma"; P.612).
14. Mirzā Qalich Beg: Op.Cit.Vol.II PP.93-94.
15. Elliot & Dowson: "Historians of Sind", (History of India); Vol.III, P.100.
16. Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Tattawī: Op.Cit.(Persian Text); P.5.

در "ظفر نامہ تیموری" مسطور است کہ چون امیر ایکوٹہ در جنگ
لقمٹش خان، جان نثار شد حضرت صاحبقران (تیمور گورگان)
تمام قبیلہ اوراکہ دران موقف ہونے کی ثبات قدم و زبردہ بودند
بخطاب "شیرخان" سرفراز ساختند و شیرخان کہ در ولایت سندھ
وقتہ ہار حکومت نمودند از نسل امیر ایکوٹہ تہ اند۔

17. Mir Muḥ'qūm: "Tārīkh-i-Sind"; (Persian Text); P.221.
18. Ibid P.207.
19. Ibid P.208 ("See S.Mir Muḥammad; Op.Cit. P.47.).
20. Haig M.R. "The Indus Delta Country", PP.97-98
21. Davers Frederick "The Portuguese and India" etc.
Charles: Vol: I; P.508, London, 1894.
22. Sayyid Tāhir "Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri", (Persian Text)
Muḥammad: P.112. (He and other local historians use the word "Firingis" for the "Portuguese". (See S.Mir Muḥammad, Op. cit P.46, and Qānī "Tuhfat-'ul-Kirām"; Vol.III; (Persian Text); P.67.

"فرنگیان از بندر گووه وارد بندر لاهوری شده ملک را بی خوارند
دیده بشهر زدند و روز جمعه بوقت نماز در جامع فرخ وردیگر
جاها قتل موقوف کردند فرنگیان را همو خود جهت ملک
طلبیده بودند اینجا رسیده و پیران دیده چنین کردند"

23. Sayyid Mir Muhammad; Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P. 50.

24. Mir Ma'sūm; Op. Cit. P. 207.

25. Mirzā Qalich Beg. Op.Cit. P. 102.

26. Sayyid Mir Muhammad; Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P. 63.

27. از بحر تظلم های اوردم اهلای و موالی و سیاه و رعیت و مهور
سکنه ولایت تحته تنگ آمده نه شب قرار و نه روز آرام بود.

27. Qānī; "Makli Nāma"; (Annotations); from P. 618 to 624.

28. S.M. Muhammad; Op.Cit. P. 64.

29. Mir Ma'sūm; Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P. 257.

30. Qānī; "Makli Nāma"; (Annotation); PP. 203-204.

31. Mirzā Qalich Beg; Op.Cit. P. 124; ("Tarkhān — Nāma"); (Persian Text); P. 94).

32. Sayyid Tāhir Muhammad Nisānī; Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P. 10.

33. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 271.

آن هندوی جانشین خود را بیک نفر و مکانات چنان رسانید که میرت
دیگران شود.

34. Sayyid Mir Muhammad; Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P. 93.

میرزا عبد العلی بن میرزا فرخ بن میرزا شاه رخ بن میرزا باقی که
از نیا فر میرزا محمد باقی همون مانده بود. برای لغت و شلود
بر مسند حکومت تحته نشاند. مالک و حکومت بدست خود در
آورد.

35. Ibid; (Persian Text); PP. 93-94.
36. Muhammad Siddiq Memon: "History of Sindhi Literature"; (Pre-British Period) P. 36; Hyderabad 1949.
37. Lutfullah Badvi: "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi"; Vol. I. P. 74; Hyderabad; 1954-55.
38. Dr. Saderangani: Op.Cit. PP. 17-18.
39. Ibid; P. 24.
40. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad "Nisyan" - Op.Cit. P. 10.
41. Dr. Saderangani: Op.Cit. P. 18.
42. Muhammad Siddiq Memon: Op.Cit; P. 36.
43. Rahim-dad Khān: "Jannat-ul-Sindh", P. 406 S.A.B, Karachi; 1952.
44. Dr. Saderangani: Op.Cit. P. 19.
45. Rahimdad Khān: Op.Cit; P. 79.
46. Ibid; P. 497 (Dr. Saderangani; Op.Cit; P. 79).
47. Sorley: "Shāh 'Abdu'l Latif of Bhit"; P. 211.

SAYYID 'ABDU'L QĀDIR .B. SAYYID HĀSHIM .B. SAYYID

MUHAMMAD TATTĀWĪ .

The information about Sayyid 'Abd-'ul-Qādir is very limited. He has not given any account of his life. Qānī¹ has written very briefly in "Tuhfatu'l Kirām" under the miscellaneous account of the Sayyids :-

سید محمد الحسینی :- بر اصل و وطن این بزرگ اطلاعی دست نزاده و جز اسمی
مذکور از خلفانش اطلاعی و وقوفی نه، همانا نامی و وقت خود است .
پیشتر سید محمد یاسم معاصر عهد میرزا جانی بیگ ترخان است .
در مدح میرزا مذکور قصائد غزاد دارد ، و از مؤلفاتش نسخ السلالین -
که بغایت خوب گفته و بنام میرزا جانی کرده ، یادگار
سید عبدالقادر ولد سید محمد یاسم مذکور نامدار وقت خود بوده .
ساله حدیقه الاولیا - ذکر بزرگان سنده و خلف

In "Maqālātu'l-Shu'arā'" of Qānī², we find the same wordings about him. But Qānī has quoted the following Couplets of Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qādir composed in Praise of Mirzā Jānī Bēg (d. 1009 A. H. / 1600 A.D.) .

ای بر در نبوت کیوان کمینه دربان	وی حارس حریمت باشد سپهر گردان
از طبع فیض تجلیت دریا خجل بصدر و	وز دست درفشانت شمرده اینرینشا
گل بانهت تو بگرفت برنج سگون	صیبت سنجای خود گشته محیط لیهان
معجز نماست رحمت همچو عصای سحر	کشور گناست تبعوت چون این شاه دران
ببر قتل دشمن دین بهفت دلیل قاطع	بر کسب عدل عدت هیچ تو نیست بر اعدان

It is obvious that even Qānī⁶ was not aware of the life and native place of Sayyid Muḥammad. His son Muḥammad-Ḥāshim was the Poet and the author of Mirzā Jāni Beg's Period (993-1009 A.H/ 1585-1600 A.D.). Muḥammad Ḥāshim had compiled the book, "Sairu'l-Salāṭin", and it was dedicated to Mirzā Jāni Beg. Mir Qānī⁶ had seen this manuscript, but now a days it is not available.

Sayyid 'Abd-'ul-Qādir was the Prose-writer as well as a Poet. We find his Poetry in "Ḥadiqatu'l-'Auliya". He has not given any clue about his life or family in this book.

Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qādir was very fond of and a devotee of Saints like his Patron ^{3.} Khwāra³ Chirkas. He used to meet with the Sūfis (mystics) and saints of his time. Once he met with ^{4.} "Pariya-i-Wirdās" and says :-

مؤلف این کتاب، نیز بشرف ملازمت ایشان گشته بود. در آن اثنا بیتی سندی
متصفیانه بالبحان بخواند. در دل فقیر گذشت که: که آیا این بیت از اوست
یا از دیگر؟ بگوید قطور این معنی، رو بجانب فقیر آورده گفت: این بیت
از اسحاق است! و چند چیز دیگر در ضمیرم گذرانیدم، هر کدام را
جواب شافی داد.

He also met several times with Makhdūm Nūh of Hālā (d. 998 A.H./1589 A.D.) and he has related about his meetings with him. As he writes.

فقیر تندر از محروم نوح کہ : مردم دیار ما گفتند کہ : فلان از محتر
حضرت علیہ السلام تعلیم یافتہ ! فاما بفضل خدائی تعالی با ما را گفتہ است
تو امام تشو تا نماز پس تو بگذارم ! فقیر گفت : ترا من نیز گویند
تو پیش شو !

HADIQATU'L AULIYĀ (1016 A.H./1607 A.D.)

It is a biography of saint (dervishes) of Sind. As related by the author, that he compiled this book in a year after collecting the material from the authentic contemporary persons. In the end we find 1016 A.H./1607 A.D. the date of compilation of the book is given in the following couplet.

رسیدہ این نامہ درجہ تنہا
زہریت بود الف و شانزدہ سال

Sayyid 'Abd-'ul-Qādir dedicated this biography of Saints to Khusrau Chirkas, who was the chieftain of Tarkhān Period.

He has referred Nafhātu'l-'Uns of Maulānā Jāmi, Tārīkh-i-Humāyūni and Tārīkh-i-Feroz shāhi, while compiling this biography.

Hadiqātu'l -'Auliya was composed in 1016 A.H./1607 A.D. and in the quarter of eleventh century of Hijrah.

the following Persian works were compiled.

1. Tārikhi-i-Ma'sūmi 1009 A.H./1600 A.D.
2. Methnavi Chanezar Nāma 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.
3. Beglār Nāma 1017 A.H/ 1608 A.D.
4. Tārikh-i-Tāshiri 1030 A.H./1620 A.D.

The style and language of these books is simple and understandable. On the contrary the language of 'Hadiqatu'l-'Auliya'' is cumbersome and intricate. The author has used unsuitable and dubious words.

Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qādir has compiled a very brief treatise on the life of "Shāh Jamil Gīrnāri". But transcriber has taken the account of Shāh Jamil¹¹ from "Mi'yār-i-Sālekān-i-Tāriqat" and "Tuhfatu'l Kirām" of Qāni¹² and added it in this treatise. It has been given in the end of Hadiqatu'l-'Auliya'.

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11. Qāni¹ - "Tuhfatu'l-Kirām"; MSS. P.183.
 2. Qāni¹ - "Maqālātū'l-Shu'arā"; PP.843-844.
 3. Khusrau Charkas in the beginning was a servant to Mullā Jāni Baundri. Then he was called by Mirzā 'Isā-i-Tarkhān (d.973 A.H./1565 A.D.) and he served under him. Khusrau Charkas was the renowned 'Amir (Commander and the ruler) of his time. He also served from 1001 to 1017 A.H/ 1592 to 1608 A.D. Mir 'Abdu'l Qāsim Beglār who revolted against Mirzā

Ghēzi Beg and after words he was arrested and blinded in 1011 A.H./1602 A.D. He compiled the following Poem and complained to Khusrāu Chirkes, as quoted by Sayyid Hūṣamū'l-Dīn Rāghidī in "Mākli Nāma" at P. 218.

نیک بختا بالسر از بهر دنیا بد میباش
چون ز مهری وفا هرگز وفای سر نید
دل منه بر طرف دنیا هرگز یسر کن
کین زنی مکاره دار میل بر مرد جید
از بخت گشته بخت کن نگاه - ظلمت شب آخر آمد
صبح صادق بر مید قاتل گویم چو سوری داشت
ای نوجوان - از زبان از ضعیف میری جانب پشتی خمید

He died in 1021 A.H./1612 A.D.

(For details, See Qānī : "Mākli Nāma"; (Annotations) by Sayyid Hūṣamū'l-Dīn Rāghidī ; PP. 195 to 232).

4. Sayyid 'Abd-'ul-Qādir : "Ḥadiqat - 'ul-Auliya" P. 232 ; S.A.B. Hyderabad Sind ; 1967.

5. Ibid ; _____ (Persian Text) ; P. 137.

6. Ibid ; _____ (Persian Text) ; P. 240.
دیرت یک سال العیال از ثقات این دیار و روات صراقت شهر
نقلی چند از مشایخ ارجمند که متحقق گشته و به صفت پیوسته
درین مجموعه مندرج ساخته -

7. Ibid ; _____ (Persian Text) ; P. 240.

8. Ibid ; _____ Introduction ; PP. 78-79.

9. Ibid ; _____ (Persian Text) ; PP. 258-259-260.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD MAQSŪM BHAKHARI (KNOWN AS MIR MAQSŪM SHĀH)

(944 -1019 A.H./ 10th June 1637-26th March 1610 A.D)

Sayyid Mizānu'l-Dīn Muḥammad Maqsūm b. Sayyid Safa'ī Ḥusaynī, was born on Monday, 7th Rameḍān, 944 A.H./1537 A.D. at Bhakhar, which is now a days called the 'Old Sukkur'.

His Poetical Takhalluṣ (Nom-de-Plume) was "Nāmī". The date of birth of Maqsūm comes from this couplet which is given in this genealogy.

شد طلوع آن شمس دخیانه صفائی از خدا
از بروج نیک در ساعت سعید آن شرعیان
بود آن تاریخ هفتم لیله و شبه از پیام
سال نصد و چهل بود از وی زوایا چار دان

HIS FORE-FATHERS.

The fore-fathers of Mir Maqsūm were Tirmizī Sayyids. They lived in Qandhār for two or three generations where they looked after the shrine of a saint of that time, Bābā Sher Qalandar with their relatives. Mir Maqsūm's father, Sayyid Safa'ī came to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān (898-982 A.H. / 1492 -1574 A.D.) at Bhakhar. After a short time Sayyid Safa'ī celebrated a marriage from the Sayyids of Khābrūt near Sehwan. From this marriage Mir Maqsūm and his two brothers were born.

Sayyid Safa'ī was a learned man. When Qutbu'l-Dīn Shāh (d. 977 A.H/ 16th June, 1569 A.D.), a venerable old man known as Shykhū'l-'Islām died; Sulṭān

Mahmūd Khān made Sayyid Safā'ī, "Shaykhul-Islām" on account of his knowledge and learnings. He died in Dhi-'ul-Qa'da 991 A.H. / 25th January 1583 A.D.

HIS EARLY EDUCATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS : - It is not known about the young age of Mir Mā'sūm, but he himself has given some informations in "Tārīkh-i-Mā'sūmī". He got his early education from his father and then he acquired further education from Qādī Ditta⁴, of Sehwan. After that he learned Hadith from Shākh⁵ Hamid, the son of Qādī 'Abdullāh⁶ .b.'Ibrāhīm of Darbells. According to Dhakhiratu'l-Khawānīn he was the class fellow of Shaykh Farid Bhakheri (d.1061 A.H/ 1650 A.D.). He might have engaged himself in literary activities then. But we find his name in Tārīkh-i-Akbarī⁷ in 984 A.H./ 1576 A.D.; when Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm, accompanied Timūr Badakhshī to fight the battle under the leadership of Āqif Khān against Rājā Hder. He remained in Gujrāt, till Mirzā 'Abdu'l Rahīm Khān Khānān conquered the whole Gujrāt and he took part in all the battles. Mir Mā'sūm returned from Gujrāt to 'Akbar's court at Lāhore in 998 A.H/ 1589 A.D. The king bestowed him the territories of Darbells.

E. Shaykh Farid Bhakheri; "Dhakhiratu'l Khawānīn": P.201
edited by Dr.S.Moinu'l Haq, Pakistan Historical Society;
Karachi; 1961.

Kākra and Chāndoki as a Jagira on account of his services. He was also conferred a robe of honour by the king and was allowed to go to see his father. Thus, Mir Muḥṣūm reached in Bhakhar on 14th Safar, 999 A.H./1590 A.D.

In Bhakhar he continued performing his services and accompanied Mirzā Khān Khānān in conquering lower Parts of Sind from Mirzā Jāni Beg. He has given the details of these achievements in Tārikh-i-Sind.⁸

Mir Muḥṣūm showed his valour and courage in various battles, so he was given 250 soldiers in 1003 A.H. / 1594 A.D.; 40th year of 'Akbar, we find him for three years in Qandhār from 1004 A.H. to 1007 A.H./1595-1598 A.D.¹⁰ Here he called calligraphists and Sculptors from Bhakhar to write a new inscription instead of old one at the tomb of Bābur (d.937 A.H./1530 A.D.). He remained there and got completed the inscription in four years; as he writes in Tārikh-i- Muḥṣūmi:¹¹ "I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakhar, and had the names of the kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengāl to Bandar Lāhri from Kābul and Ghazni to the Deccan, without any omission. It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration. In 1008 A.H./1599 A.D., he was at Nagore, where his son Mir-Buzurg met him. At the time of conquering Asir Garh, he was with the king Akbar and he used to write inscriptions and they were engraved by sculptors.¹² After the conquest of Deccan in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D., he was appointed as an ambassador to Irān.

Shāh 'Abbās Safavi (985-1038 A.H./1577 -1628 A.D) was impressed by his talent and was compassionate to him. ¹³ Abū'l Fadl writes in the events of 1013 A.H./1604 A.D that Shāh 'Abbās Safavi liked him and Mir Ma'sūm returned from Irān in 1013 A.H./ 1604 A.D. After that we find him in Jaupūr, due to his inscription at the door of Tripoliya in 1014 A.D./1605 A.D. In the same year his Patron, Akbar died on Wednesday, the 13th Jamādi'l-Ākhir, 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. Then the king Jahāngir knowing his services conferred upon him the title of 'Ameenu'l-Mulk in 1015 A.H./1606 A.D. and sent him to Bhakhar. He remained there for four years and died on Friday, the 6th Dhi-'ul-Hajj 1019 A.H./ 1610 A.D. He was buried in Sukkur and his tomb is known as "Ma'sūm-Shāh -jo -Munero" (A minaret of Ma'sūm Shāh). He had built this minaret at the hill in 1002 A.H./ 1593 A.D. The date of its construction is given in the following couplet :-

امیر سید فاضل کیم معصوم - بروی کوہ بنا کرد منزلی بشکوه
عجب خجسته مقامی که خلق میایند - پی ویار تنش از هر طرف گرو گرو
چو از دبیر خرد سال این بنا جستم - قلم گرفت رقم زد عمارت سرکوه

Mir Ma'sūm was a pious and devoted religious man. He was a courageous and generous in his actions. He was also a literary man and was a poet. He used to give monthly and weekly stipends to the needy persons. Shaykh Farid Bhakhri, who was his Class-fellow remarks that he was a back biter

friend and atrocious enemy.

He had a son "Mir Buzrg" and Mir Ma'sūm composed 'Tārīkh-i-Sind' for him. His son was a sentinel to Akbar. After the death of Mir Ma'sūm, his son spend all his wealth vagabondly and in the end he resigned from his Post and returned to Bhakhar. He contented himself with his father's land and a garden. Mir Buzrg died in 1044 A. H. / 1634 A. D.

THE WORKS OF MIR MA'SŪM.

Mir Ma'sūm was a soldier, a Physician, a traveller, calligraphist, a Poet and a historian. He has written two books on the medical treatment. (1) ¹⁰"TIBB-I-NĀMI". The copy of this manuscript contains 185 Pages and it is in the Possession of Sayyid Munawwar 'Ali Ma'sūmi of Sukkur.

(2) MUFARRDĀT-IL MA'SŪMI. This book is also on the medical treatment and some of the Portions of this book are with Shaykh Abdull Rāhm of Rohri.

Mir Ma'sūm has composed a Divān, one copy of "Divān Nēmi" is with Pir 'Ali Muhamed Rāshidi and the other one is with Sayyid Munawwar 'Ali Shāh Ma'sūmi. Besides this Mir Ma'sūm had written ²⁰Khums (Quintet) in imitation of Nizāmi Ganjvi in 1013 A. H. / 1604 A. D. But the Mathnavi written in imitation of Hafat-i-Paykar is not known. The

2. Shaykh Farid Bhakhari : "Dhakhirot-'ul-Khawānin (Persian Text); P. 205.

other four Mathnavis are :-

1. Ma'danu'l-Afkār in imitation of Makhzanu'l-Isfār.
2. Husn-wa-Nāz " " " Khursu-Shirw.
3. 'Akbar Nāma " " " Sikander Nāma.
4. Pari-Sūrat " " " Laylā-wa-Majnun.

It is pity that these Mathnavis are not found any where.

TĀRIKH-I-SIND alias TĀRIKH-I-MĀ'SŪMI.

Tārīkh -i- Mā'sūmi is the most copious history of Sind and it contains four chapters :-

The first chapter gives an account of the events about the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs, and ends at the death of Rājā Dahir and the 'Abbāsi governors.

The Second Chapter contains an account of Sind under the Emperor of Delhi, and of the Sūwārē dynasties, after the invasion of Timūr, (d. 17th Shu'bān 807 A. H. / 1405 A.D.)²¹. Mir Mā'sūm says that he was induced to give an account of the Sūwārē and Sammas in detail, because it was not to be found anywhere.

The third chapter gives the history of Arghūniyah²² dynasty and the account of siwi, Qandhār including some of the celebrated pious men, judges Sayyids, and of the kings of Multān. It contains the account of the Emperor Humāyūn's (d. 963 A.H. / 1555 A.D.) operations in Sind and the desert, after his flight from Āgra.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the tedious relations of the mode in which Sind fell under the power of Akbar upon the capitulation of Mirzā Jāni Beg of Thatta,²³ A.D. 1592. The history ends immediately after the capitula-

-tion of Jāni Beg, stating that he died in Rajab 1008 A.H/
1599 A.D.

24

Mir Mā'sūm composed this history in about 1009A.H/
1600 A.D. The purpose of writing this history was for the
instruction and improvement of his son, named Mir Buzurg;
as he says: "By reading it he might learn what good men of
old did; that he might discriminate between right and wrong;
between that which is useful and the reverse and might learn
to follow the Paths of virtuous men." Mir Mā'sūm has quoted
only three books, while writing his history; viz. Tārikh-i-
²⁶ Mīrāt'ul-Jinnān, ²⁷ Tārikh-i-Guzedeh and ²⁸ Chach Nāma. He has not
taken any help from other books, what ever account he could
memorise, he has written it. It is due to this reason that
some historical faults have been done by him; e.g. in Brahma-
-man dynasty, he has not given the account of Chander, the
brother of Chach who ruled for eight years. But after Chach,
he brings Rājā Dahir the son of Chach upon the throne and
leaves the account of Chander. In the same way, Mir Mā'sūm
²⁹
presumes that Muhammad.b.Qāsim firstly sieged Nirūn Kot and
then invaded Debal and released ~~Debal~~ the Muslim Prisoners.
But this is contradictory. He firstly attacked Debal and then
came to Nirūn Kot. Even then Tārikh-i-Mā'sūmi is the oldest
history of Sind, after Chach Nāma (613 A.H/1621 A.D.),
Tārikh-i-Tāhiri (1030 A.H./1621 A.D.), Tuhfatul-Kirām
(1182 A.H/ 1768 A.D.), Tarkhān Nāma (1065A.H./1654-55 A.D.)
and Beglār Nāma (1017 A.H./ 1608 A.D.), have been written
after Tārikh-i-Mā'sūmi and their source is Tārikh-i-Mā'sūmi.
³⁰
The author of M'athir-i-Bahimi, Mullā 'Abdu'l Bāqī Nihāwandī

while writing the account of rulers of Sind, prefers Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī than Tārīkh-i-'Akbarī of Khawājs Nizāmū'l-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī. The last chapter of Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī about the conquest of Sind of Sultān Mahmūd Khān Bakhshī (d. 982 A.H./1574 A.D.) under Khān Khānān is reliable one and the author is eye witness of the events and he himself had taken part. In the end Mir Ma'sūm gives the account of Mirzā Shāh Hūsayn (or Hāsen) Arghūn, (d. 962 A.H/ 1555 A.D.) Mirzā 'Isā-I-Tarkhān, (d. 973 A.H/ 1565 A.D.), Sultān Mahmūd Khān Tarkhān and the scholars of that time.

Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī is written in a simple and understandable language. It is free from similes and intricate word plays. The author has not used figurative language anywhere. It describes the events very clearly.

2.

EXTRACTS.

-31

ACCOUNT OF THE SAMMA DYNASTY.

It has been already related how Sultan Mahmūd came from Ghazni, and after capturing the fort of Multān, brought the country of Sind under his authority, and sent his officers to govern it. After the death of Mahmūd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the government (of Sind) devolved upon 'Abdūl Rashīd Sultān Masūd. This Prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and neglected not the duties of government; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and throw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Sūmra assembled in the vicinity of Thakri and raised a man named "Sūmra" to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Sūmra, and he cleared the country of disaffection. This man formed a connection with Sād, a powerful Zamindar in those parts, and married his daughter. She bore him a son named Bhūngar, who on the death of his father succeeded to the hereditary states, and died after an active reign.

His son named Boda then inherited the throne, and reigned for some years. He extended his authority to Nagpur, but died in the flower of his age. He left an infant son named Singhar and a daughter named Tari, who for a time carried

on the government and kept the People under her control. When Singhar came of age he himself assumed the government, and looked after the affairs of the revenue and the state, punishing all men who were disaffected and rebellious. He directed his efforts against the country of Kachh and extended his sway as far as Manik Bai. Some years after this he died, leaving no son; but his wife, named Hemūn, carried on the Government in the fort of Dahak, and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Tūr and Thari. A short time after this the brethren of Doda, who were hidden in that neighbourhood came forth and opposed the brethren of Hemūn. One of them, named Pithu, a descendant of Doda, was supported by a body of followers. He overthrew all those who set up pretensions to the throne, and established himself in the sovereignty. After reigning some years, he died, when a man named Ehsān carried on the business of the state, and made himself remarkable for his virtues. He reigned for some years to the time of his death.

32.
JĀM 'UNAR, SON OF BAHINIYA.

2

Jām 'Unar with the assent of the nobles thus became king, and the great body of the People supported him. He led an expedition against Siwistān, then governed by Malik, the representative of the Turk kings. Reaching the vicinity of Siwistān, he drew up his army in battle array; Malik Ratan

2. Elliot and Dowson: "The History of India"; as told by its own historian. Vol: I from PP. 127 to 137.

also came out of the fort with his force, and the battle began. In the first contest Jām Unar was defeated, but his brothers came up to his assistance; and he renewed the fight. Malik Ratan, in galloping his horse, was thrown to the ground, and Jām Unar cut off his head. The fort of Siwistān then fell into Unar's Power. Malik Firoz and 'Ali Shāh Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakhar, and they wrote a letter to Jām Unar to the following effect. "This boldness is unbecoming, so now prepare to meet the royal army, and make a brave stand". These words took effect upon him, and he proceeded to Thari. He then fell ill and died after reigning three years and six months. Some writers relate that after Jām Unar returned from the conquest of Siwistān, he was one night engaged drinking wine in a convivial Party, when news was brought of a Party of rebels having risen against him. He instantly sent against them Gahar, son of Tamāchi who was his Vakil. Gahar was drunk when he encountered them and was made Prisoner. The enemy held him captive, and Jām Unar kept up his carouse without heeding the captivity of his officer. This rankled in the breast of Gahar, and when he escaped, by a wellcontrived stratagem, from the clutches of his captors, he turned away from Jām Unar and went to the fort of Bhakhar. There he had an interview with 'Ali Shāh Turk who in concert with Malik Firoz, raised a force and slew Jām Unar in the fort of Bahrapur. Malik Firoz was left in command of the fort, and 'Ali Shāh returned home. Three days afterwards Jām Unar's followers managed by craft and stratagem to kill both Gahar, son of Tamāchi and Malik Firoz.

JĀM JUNA SON OF BĀHINIYA. ✓

After the death of Jām Unar, Jūna, of the tribe of Sammas, received the title of Jām. He conceived the design of subduing all Sind. Showing great kindness and attention to his brethren and other relatives, he appointed them to further his designs upon the country. These men crossed (the river) at the village of Talahti, and began to kill the people and lay waste the villages and towns of Bhakhar. Two or three desperate fights ensued between the Sammas and the chiefs of Bhakhar, but as the Turks were unable to withstand the Sammas they withdrew from the fort of Bhakhar and retired to 'Uch. When Jām Jūna heard of their retreat, he proceeded to Bhakhar, and for some years reigned supreme over Sind. But at length Sultān 'Allā-'ul-Dīn appointed his brother, Ulugh Khān to the district of Multān. Ulugh Khān then sent Tāj Kāfūrī and Tātār Khān to oppose Jām Jūna in Sind, but before their arrival the Jām died of quinsy. He had reigned thirteen years. The forces of 'Allā-'ul-Dīn took possession of Bhakhar and then directed their efforts against Siwistān.

JĀM TAMĀCHI (AND JĀM KHAIR-'UL-DIN). ✓

This Prince ascended his hereditary throne with the assent of the nobles. The army of 'Allā-'ul-Dīn after some fighting, took him prisoner, and carried him with his family prisoners to Delhi. There he had children. But the Samma tribe brought them to Theri, and keeping them prisoners took the business of government into their own hands, and exerted themselves in carrying on the affairs of the State. After the lapse of some time and the death of Jām Tamāchi,

his son Malik Khair-ul-Din, who, in infancy, had gone to Dehli with his father, returned to Sind and assumed the government. Shortly afterwards, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh proceeded to Gujrāt by way of Sind, and summoned Jām Khair-ul-Din to his Presence. But the Jām had endured the hardships of Prison, and resolutely refused to comply. Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughliq Shāh, died in the neighbourhood of Bhakhar. After his death, Sultān Firoz Shāh succeeded under the will of the late king, and by hereditary right. He departed from Sind, a dependency of Siwistān, for his capital Dehli, and Jām Khair-ul-Din, after following him some stages from that Place, turned back. The Sultān kept this fact in mind. After the departure of the Sultān, Khair-ul-Din exerted himself in administering justice and in improving the condition of the People.

The following story is told of one of the remarkable incidents in the life of this benevolent Prince. One day he went out for exercise with a party of attendants and servants, and by chance discovered a quantity of human bones in a hole. He drew rein, and looking at those decaying relics, asked his followers if they knew what the bones told him. On their hanging their heads and keeping silence; he said, "These are the remains of injured men, and they cry for justice". He immediately directed his attention to an investigation of the facts. So he called to his Presence an old man to whom the land belonged, and questioned him about the bones. The old man said, "Seven years ago, a caravan which had come from Gujrāt was plundered and the travellers killed by such and such a tribe, who still hold a good deal of the spoil". As

soon as he heard this the Jām directed the Property to be gathered together; and when this was done he sent it to the ruler of Gujrāt requesting that it might be distributed among the heirs of the slain. He then inflicted punishment on the murderers. Some years after this he died.

34.
JĀM BĀBINIYA.

Jām Bābiniya succeeded after the death of his father, and ascended the throne with the assent of the nobles and chiefs. At this time Sultān Firoz Shāh having set his mind at rest about Hindūstān and Gujrāt turned his attention to the conquest of Sind. Jām Bābiniya drew up his forces to resist him, but when the Sultān had been in the country three months, inundation, adverse winds, and swarms of mosquitos, compelled him, at the beginning of the rains, to retire to Patten in Gujrāt. After the rains he returned to Sind with a numerous army. A battle ensued, in which Jām Bābiniya was taken Prisoner, and the whole country of Sind became subject to Sultān Firoz. The Jām was carried off in the retinue of the Sultān, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he became the object of the royal favour, a royal robe was given to him, and he was reinstated in the government of Sind. There he reigned in Peace for fifteen years and then departed this life.

35
JĀM TANĀCHI.

He succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother, and carried on the government. He was fond of ease and the pleasures of life, which had been increased by the conquest of Sind.

and enjoyment, and Passed his days in indulgence and Pleasure. After reigning thirteen years he died of Plague.

JĀM ṢALĀH-~~UL~~-DIN

After the death of Jām Tamāchi, Ṣalāh-~~ul~~-Din carried on the business of Government. His first act was a rectification of the frontier, which has been encroached upon by refractory subjects. He accordingly sent a force to punish them, and after inflicting salutary chastisement, he marched against Kachh. Some obstinate fighting ensued, but in every encounter he was victorious, and he returned home in triumph with the spoils, to look after the affairs of his army and People. He died after reigning eleven years and some months.

36.

JĀM NIZĀM-~~UL~~-DIN. B. JĀM ṢALĀH-~~UL~~-DIN.

Nizām-~~ul~~-Din succeeded his father Ṣalāh-~~ul~~-Din, with the concurrence of the nobles. He released his uncles Malik Sikandar, Karsn, Bahg-~~ul~~-Din, and 'Amar, who were in confinement for reasons of state Policy, and sent each one to his district. He then left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the officials, and gave himself up night and day to pleasure and enjoyment. This neglect of his duty induced his uncles to raise a force, and to enter the city with the intention of seizing him. But he received information of his design, and left the city at midnight with some troops, and went off towards Gujrat. In the morning, when the fact became known, the uncles started in pursuit, but at this juncture, the chief men of the city, seeing the strife and commotion,

brought forth Jām 'Alī Sher from his concealment, and raised him to the throne. Jām Nizām-ul-Din died about this time, and his uncles turned back with shame and loss, and passed into the desert.

37
Jām 'Alī Sher.



Jām 'Alī Sher mounted the throne with the consent of the great men and nobles, and opened wide the gates of justice and kindness. He was wise and brave, and he immediately devoted himself to the duties of government. The country of Sind was brought into a due state of order, all the People passed their days in security and ease under his rule. After a time he devoted himself more to pleasure, and he used to roam about in moonlit nights. Sikander, Keran, and Fatch Khān, sons of Tamāchi, who living in sorry plight in the desert, became acquainted with Jām 'Alī Sher's mode of recreation. So they set forth, and travelling by night and hiding themselves by day, they reached the outskirts of the city. Here they won over a Party of the People of the city. On the night of Friday, the 13th day of the month, 'Alī Sher, according to his custom, went out with a Party of companions and followers, and embarked, in a boat for an excursion on the river. At midnight he was about to return into his house, when a Party of men with drawn swords made an attack on him. The People who were with him strove without avail to divert them from their purpose, and the Jām was instantly despatched. The murderers then entered the Palace, when a noise and outcry arose, and the fact became known. The People assembled, but they perceived that matters

were beyond their control, and accordingly they submitted.
Jām 'Alī Sher had reigned seven years.

JĀM KARAN.

After the murder of Jām 'Alī Sher, the brethren assented to the elevation of Jām Karan. He was displeased with the nobles and great men of the city, and in his aversion to them he sought to take them Prisoners, and then to slay some and confine the rest. On the very day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a Public court, and summoned all men great and small to attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber when a Party^{man}, who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him in pieces. Fath Khān, son of Sikandar, had been the prime mover in this murder, and so, with the assent of the soldiers and People, he ascended the throne.

³⁸
JĀM FATH KHĀN. B. SIKANDAR.

Jām Fath Khān, on his accession to the throne, confirmed all the rules and orders of government, and was very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State. At that time Mirzā Pir Muhammad, grandson of Shāh-Qirān 'Amir-Gurgān, had been sent to Multān and had taken that town and the town of 'Uch' also. He stayed there for a while and many of his horses died. The Mirzā's soldiers were thus dismounted and in distress. When Timūr heard of this, he sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mirzā.

Being thus reinforced, he made an attack upon the People of Bhatti and Ahan, who had rebelled and gave them and their families to the winds of destruction. He then sent a Person to Bhakhar and summoned all the chief men to his Presence. The Officers of the king of Dehli being unable to withstand him, fled by way of Jessalmir. One of the inhabitants of Bhakhar, Sayyid 'Ab-'ul-Layth by name, a man of Piety and Purity, hastened to the Prophets, he besought his intercession in his midnight Prayers.

It is said that one night the chief of the Prophets appeared to Mirzā Pir Muhammad in a dream and spoke to him of Sayyid 'Ab-'ul-Layth, saying, "This is my son, show him honour and respect, and abstain from molesting him". The Mirzā awoke, and remained for eleven days in expectation of seeing the friend of his dream. The Sayyid then arrived while the Mirzā was seated in his court with the nobles around him. When his eye fell upon the Sayyid he recognized him, and arose to give him a proper reception. He embraced him and seated him by his side with great honour and reverence. The nobles then made enquiry about the Sayyid, and the Mirzā related to them his dream. On that day he gave the Sayyid a horse and some presents, and allowed him to depart. He also conferred upon ^{him} the Pargana of Alor in ^{the} Multān. After Timūr had captured Delhi, Mirzā Pir Muhammad departed thither. In the days of the succeeding kings of Dehli, Multān came under the authority of the Langahs and the whole of Sind remained subject to its own kings. Jām Fāṭḥ Khān was

celebrated for his courage and generosity. He reigned for fifteen years and some months up to the time of his death.

JĀM TUGHLIQ³⁹, SON OF SIKANDAR.

When Jām Fath³⁸ Khān was on the bed of sickness, and saw his end approaching, three days before his decease he placed his brother Tughliq Shāh upon the throne, delivering over to him the reins of government, and giving to him the title of Jām Tughliq. Soon afterwards Tughliq appointed his brothers governors of Siwistān and the fort of Bhakhar. He spent most of his time in hunting and exercise. When the Balochis raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of Bhakhar, he led an army there and inflicted punishment on their chiefs. He reigned twenty-eight years.

JĀM⁴⁰ SIKANDAR.

Jām Sikandar succeeded his father, but he was young in years; and the rulers of Siwistān and Bhakhar, attending only to their own interests, refused obedience to him, and quarrelled with each other. Jām Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakhar; but when he reached Nārpur, a person named Mubārak, who had been chamberlain in the time of Jām Tughliq, suddenly came into Thatta, and calling himself Jām Mubārak, seized upon the throne. But the people did not support him, and his authority lasted only three days; for the nobles drove him out of the city, and sent for Sikandar. When the news reached Sikandar he made terms with his opponents, and returned to Thatta. After

a year and a half he died.

41

JAM RAIYDENAH.

On the sixth of Jamadi'-ul-'Awwal in the year 858 A.H., (May 1454 A.D.), Jam Raiydenah came forth. During the reign of the Jam Tughliq he had lived in Kachh, and had formed connections with the people of that country. He had maintained a considerable body of tried men, to whom he paid great attention, and to whom he used to give fine horses and other suitable presents. These men looked upon him as a wise and superior man, and devoted themselves to him with great sincerity. When he heard of the death of Sikandar, he proceeded with his entire force to Thatta, and there assembling the people, he addressed them to the effect, that he had not come to take the kingdom, but that he wanted to secure the property of the Musalmāns, and to accomplish their wishes. He did not consider himself worthy of the throne, but they should raise some fitting person to that dignity, when he would be the first to give him support.

As they could find no one among them who had ability for the high office, they unanimously chose him and raised him to the throne. In the course of one year and a half he brought the whole of Sind under his rule from the Sea to the village of Kajarki (Kajrelly) and Kandharak, (Kandhi) which are on the boundaries of Mithela and Ubāwar. When he had reigned eight years and a half the idea of sovereignty entered the head of Jam Sanjar, one of his

attendants. He induced other of the attendants and followers to join him in his Plot; and one day when Jām Rāi Dan (Rāiyderah) was drinking wine in Private, Poison was put into the bottle which a servant handed to him. Three days after drinking there of he died.^{2.}

42
JĀM SANJAR.

Jām Sanjar was a handsome young man, and many persons being fascinated by his beauty, served him without stipend. It is related that before he came to the throne he was on friendly terms with an excellent darwish. One night Sanjar went to visit the darwish, and after the usual greeting told him that he wished to become ruler of Thatta, even if it were for only eight days. The darwish replied, "Thou shalt be king for eight years". When Jām Rāi Dan died, the nobles agreed in raising Jām Sanjar to the throne, and in delivering over to him the reins of government. Through the Prayers of the darwish he thus became king without any strife or opposition, and the people on every side submitted to his authority with willing obedience. In his reign Sind rose to a greater pitch of Prosperity and splendour than it had ever

2. Malet's translation adds the following: "It is also written by some that a man, a Faqir, one of judgment, who was considered in those days as a saint at Thatta, was in the habit of constantly coming to the Jām, who always treated him with great respect, seating him on

attained before, and the soldiers and the people lived in great comfort and satisfaction. He was a great Patron of learned and pious men and of darwishes.

his own seat, and whatever this Faqir said the Jām agreed to it. One day, at an assembly, the wazirs and nobles said to the Jām, ask that Faqir to whom you give so much honour what God is like, and what is His description? When the Jām heard this, he placed it in his heart. Four days afterwards, when the darwish came to the assembly, the Jām did not pay him the usual attention. The Faqir understood that there was something in this! The Jām then asked him, what is God like, and what description does He bear? The Faqir replied, 'The description of God is this, that three days hence He will destroy you by means of a horse, sixteen kos from this, and He will place Jām Sanjar on your seat! The third day after this the Jām went to hunt, not bearing in mind what the Faqir had said. By chance he galloped his horse, when he fell, and his foot remaining in the stirrup, at the distance of sixteen kos from Thatta, his life was given to God'.
(Elliot and Dowson): "Historians of India", as told by its own historians "Foot-Note"; PP. 135-136).

Every Friday he dispensed large sums in charity among the poor and needy, and settled pensions and stipends upon meritorious persons. It is related that before his time the rulers of Sind used to pay their judicial officers badly. When Sanjar became ruler, there was a Qādi in Bhakhar, who had been appointed to the office by a former king, upon an insufficient salary. Finding himself under paid, he used to ^{exact} something from the suitors in his courts. When this reached the ears of Jām Sanjar he summoned the Qādi to his presence, and told him that he had heard of his taking money by force, both from plaintiffs and defendants. He acknowledged it, and said he should like to get something from the witnesses also, but that they always went away before he had an opportunity. The Jām could not help smiling at this, so the Qādi went on to say that he sat all day in his court while his children at home went without breakfast and supper. The Jām made the Qādi some handsome presents, settled a suitable stipend upon him. He further directed that proper salaries should be appointed for all officers throughout the country, so that they might be able to maintain themselves in comfort. When he had reigned eight years he departed from this world of trouble.

43
JĀM NIZĀM-UL-DIN, ALSO CALLED JĀM HINDAH. ✓

Nizām-ul-Din succeeded Jām Sanjar on the 25th Rabiul-'Awwal, in the year 866 (December, 1461 A.D.). All men — the learned and the good the soldiers and the peasants — agreed in his elevation, so that he raised firmly the standard of sovereignty. It is recorded that at the outset of his career he was a student, and spent much of his time in colleges and

monasteries. He was modest and gentle, and had many excellent and Plessing Qualities. His life was Pure and religious to a high degree. It is impossible to enumerate all his virtues. In the early Part of his reign, he Proceeded with a force to Bhakhar and stayed there for a year engaged in suppressing the highway robbers. He stored the fort of Bhakhar with all kinds of Provisions, and appointed as governor one of his dependants, Dilshād by name, who had served him while at college. The frontiers were so well secured that travellers could Pass along the roads in Perfect safety. Having satisfied himself in respect of Bhakhar, at the end of a year he returned to Thatta. There he reigned supreme for forty-eight years and during this Period, learned men and Pious men and Faqirs Passed a happy time, and the soldiery and the Peasantry were in easy circumstances.

Jām Nizām-ul-Din was contemporary with Sultān - Hussayn Lāngsh, the ruler of Multān. They were on the most friendly terms, and were in the constant habit of sending Presents to each other. Jām Nizām-ul-Din used to visit his stables every week, and used to stroke the heads of his horses, and say to them, " My dear and happy steeds, I have no desire to ride you, for within my four boundaries all the rulers are Musselmāns ____ do you also Pray that I may not go out against any one without a lawful cause, and that no may come up me, lest the blood of innocent Musselmāns should be spilled, and I should stand abashed in the Presence of God". In his days Musselmāns discipline was widely spread. Large congregations used ^{to} assemble in the mosques, for small and

great used to resort thither to say their Prayers, and were not satisfied with saying them in Private. If a Person omitted to attend a service, he was very sorry for it afterwards, and would occupy himself two or three days in Prayer for forgiveness. Towards the end of the reign of Jām Nizām-^{ul}-Din, the army of Shāh Beg came from Qandhār and attacked the villages of Lakri, Chānduka and Sindicha. The Jām sent a large force to repel this attack of the Mughals, and it advanced as far as Dara-Karib, commonly known by the name of Jaluger. A battle ensued in which the brother of Shāh Beg was slain, and his army defeated. The remnant fled towards Qandhār, and no further attack was made upon Sind during the life of Nizām-^{ul}-Din.

The Jām spent much of his time in discoursing and arguing upon matters of Science with the learned men of the day. Maulānā Jalāl-^{ul}-Din Muhammad Dawāni formed the Project of leaving Shirāz and going to Sind; so he sent Shams-^{ul}-Din and Mir Mu'in, two of his disciples, to Thatta, in order to get Permission for taking up his residence there. The Jām accordingly allotted some suitable houses, and provided the means for his maintenance; he further supplied the messengers with money to pay the expenses of the journey, but the Maulānā died before they returned. Mir Shams-^{ul}-Din and Mir Mu'in were so well satisfied with the attention they had received, ~~that they had received~~, that they came back to Thatta and settled there. Some time after this Jām Nizām-^{ul}-Din died, and after his death all the affairs of Sind fell into disorder.

44
JAM FIROZ.

Upon the death of Nigām-ul-Din, his son Jām Firoz was of tender age. So Jām Salāh-ul-Din, one of the late Jam's relatives and the son of Jām Sanjar's daughter, advanced Pretensions to the crown; but Daryā Khān and Sērang Khān, the confidential slaves of Nigām-ul-Din who were high in dignity and Power, refused to support him, and with the consent of the nobles and head men of Thatta they Placed Jām Firoz on the throne in succession to his father. Salāh-ul-Din finding that he could only succeed by fighting, lost heart, and went to Gujrāt to lay his case before Sultān Muḡaffar. The Sultān had married a daughter of Salāh-ul-Din's uncle, and was consequently well inclined towards him. Jām Firoz gave way to the impulses of youth, and devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He spent most of his time in the harem, but went out from time to time accompanied by slaves and jesters, who Practised all sorts of tricks and buffoonery. The People of the Samma tribe, and the associates of the Jām treated the People of the city with violence, and when Daryā Khān forbade them they treated him with scorn. The Khān, therefore, retired to his Jāgir in the village of Kahan.

In those days Makhdūm 'Abd-ul-Abhari and his two sons, Maulānā Aqil-ul-Din and Maulānā Muḡammad, all of them learned men, came to that village of Kahan and spent some years there teaching and diffusing knowledge. The cause of their coming from Herāt was the rebellion of Shāh Ismā'il in the year 918 A.H./1512 A.D. The above named Maulānā was well

read in all the sciences, and he had excellent books upon every branch of learning. He compiled a commentary on the Hishkāt (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Mas'ūd and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books. He died in this village of Kahān, and his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Jām Fīroz continued to give himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the nobles being on the verge of ruin, a messenger was sent to Jām Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn to inform him how matters stood; that Fīroz was generally drunk; that Daryā Khān, the great supporter of the government, had retired to Kahān, and that the moment was opportune for his returning immediately. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn showed the letter of the men of Thatta to Sultān Muẓaffar, and he sent him off with an army to that place. Making forced marches he soon arrived there, and crossing the river entered the city. Jām Fīroz's followers were dismayed, and led him out of the city on the other side. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn then ascended the throne. He fined and punished the associates of Jām Fīroz, and demanded their wealth. The mother ^{of} Jām Fīroz, took him to Daryā Khān, at Kahān, where he asked forgiveness for his errors; and the Khān remembering only old obligations, began to collect forces, and when the armies of Bhakhar and Siwistān were assembled, they met under the banners of Jām Fīroz. The Baloches and other tribes also mustered. Daryā Khān placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched against Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn.

This Prince wished to go out himself to the sanguinary meeting, but his wazir Haji deemed it advisable that the Jām should stay in the city while he led the war-elephants against the enemy; so the Jām stayed at home and the wazir went to the fray. When the armies met, the fire of battle raged furiously, and many were slain on both sides, but at length the troops of Daryā Khān were defeated and put to flight. Haji wazir then sat down to write a despatch to Salah-ud-Din informing him that victory had favoured his colours, and that he might deem himself secure. Night came on and the wazir was unable to pursue the routed army, so it happened that his messenger fell into the hands of some of Daryā Khān's men. As soon as Daryā Khān had read the letter he destroyed it, and substituted another in the name of Haji wazir, to this effect: _____ "Your army has been defeated, and the enemy is overpowering; you must leave Thatta with your family, and make no delay, _____ we will meet again in the village of Chāchgan." As soon as this letter arrived, on the night of the 9th ^{of} Ramāḍān, Salah-ud-Din departed without breaking his fast, and crossed the river. Defeat had indeed reached him. He had reigned eight months. When he met his wazir, the latter reproached him for running away, and asked him why he had come there. The false despatch was then produced, upon which the Haji exclaimed that he had not written it. At length they discovered that it was the crafty work of Daryā Khān, and were sorely annoyed, _____ but when a matter is completed repentance is useless. Daryā Khān pursued them some stages.

He then brought back Jām Fīroz and entered Thatta on the day of the 'Id-ul-Fitr (at the close of the Ramadān) and going to the 'Idgāh they offered up their Prayers. After this, Jām Fīroz reigned securely for some years , until the end of the year 916 A.H.(1511 A.D.), when Shāh-Beg Arghūn invaded Sind.

The battles which followed are described in their Proper Places. I have never met with any written account of the history of the Sumras and Sammas. I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this.

45
THE WONDERS OF SIWI.

The fort of Siwi, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood.

In Kor-Zamin and Ohstur, which are districts of Siwi, cotton Plants grow as large as trees, in so much that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton Plant there were one or two hundred shakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the holes. If any one is bitten by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and suck out the poison, otherwise death would supervene.

The little river which runs by Siwi rises apparently from a sulphureous source, and any one who

drinks the water of it falls sick. Many men have died from that cause, but it does not affect the inhabitants who are accustomed to it. Not with standing that the garrison was changed every year by Sultān Mahmūd, most of the soldiers died from its bad effects, and only a few escaped. In the time of 'Akbar, a flood came and purged the sources of the river from the Sulphur, since which time the stickness has been less. This river runs fifty kos beyond Siwi, collecting at Sarwah, where it is used in irrigation, and the water which is not expended for that purpose flows into the lake of Manchhur, which is near Siwistān.

On that lake also there are many snakes, very long and thin, the bites of which few survive. The men in that neighbourhood wear long drawers to protect themselves against their bites. I myself, when I was there looking at the men irrigating their fields, saw several at every step my horse took. As it was hot, I wished to dismount on the shore of the lake, but for fear of the snakes, I was compelled to do so at a distance on the Plain beyond.

In the Plain of Siwi there were formerly many forts and much cultivation, but all is now waste; the hot wind (simoon) blows there. Between Siwi, Dehra, and Kaghmur, there is a tract of land called Bargan, which breeds horses not inferior to those of 'Irāq. The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which

their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills.

At Chhstur there is a tribe called Kahari, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted, and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse.

Near Ganjābāh, which is a district of Siwi, water springs from a hill, and covers a large extent of ground. Fishes are found in it. Amongst the hills of Ganjāva (Ganjābāh) there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed, but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars, and the earth recedes.

The hills of Situr (Sitipur) and the river Ābkeshids run in a sort of semi-circle from Siwi to Ganjāva (Ganjābāh). Between these places there is a waste, through which the road to Qandhār runs. Its length from the river to Siwi is a hundred kos, and its breadth sixty. In summer the hot wind blows over this track for four months.

46
THE WONDERS OF QANDHĀR.

At the hill called Sibūds (Sirpuzah) the rock was scarped, and a lofty arched recess called Peghtak was cut by order of the Emperor Bābar. Eighty stone-masons

were employed nine years in its completion. It is indeed a very Pleasant Place, overlooking the waters of the Arghand, gardens and cultivated fields. In spring many People resort there, but it is difficult to reach on account of its steep ascent. Within this recess are inscribed the names of Bābar Bādshāh, and of his trusty adherents, Mirzā Kāmran, Mirzā 'Askari, and Mirzā Hindāl. As his majesty Humāyūn had never visited the spot, his name was not included in the inscription. Of all his dominions Qandhār was the only Place mentioned. When I visited the spot it came into my head that I would inscribe his name there, as well as that of his august son (Akbar) with their thousands of tributary cities and kingdom, like Qandhār and Kābul. I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakhar, and had the names of these kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengal to Bander Lāhari, from Kābul and Ghazni to the Dekhin, without any omission. It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration. Below the hills there is a cavern not far off. It was from the other extremity of this, that Bābā Hassan 'Abdāl brought out the golden brick. The distance between these two ends is seven or eight kos.

On the same hill near Qandhār, Mukhliss is found, which is an antidote against snake bites and other Poisons, and it is found no where else in that country. On that hill also there is a fire temple of a very ancient date. It is built of unburnt bricks, each two yards long and broad, and one span thick. The temple exists to this day, and has

sustained no injury.

In Qandhār there used to be plague and sickness every year, till Shāh Tshmās directed Sultān Hussayn Mirzā, governor of that Province, to plant canes on the stream which flows near the town, and the water of which the people use for drinking. Since that, the sickness had abated, but even now in some seasons plague and disease break out with great intensity; blood being passed from the belly, nostrils, ears, and mouth. When I went there, in the reign of his late majesty, 'Akbar, to render assistance, it was at its height, and in the year 1007 A.H. (1598 A.D.) nearly two hundred soldiers died of this disease.

With the Hazāra tribes near Qandhār, it is not the practice to wear coloured clothes such as white, red and black nor is there any trade in clothes and shoes of this kind. Among the saints buried near Qandhār may be mentioned Bābā-Hassan 'Abdāl, a descendant of the Sayyids of Sabzwār. After a pilgrimage to the holy cities, he accompanied Mirzā Shāh Rukh, son of Shāh Qirān (Timur) to Hindustān. On his return he spent some years in Langer Qandhār, and died there. His tomb is on an elevated spot surrounded by villages, and overlooking the Arghunābād, and to it, as to a place of pilgrimage, men and women, little and big, low-born, resort on Fridays in great crowds, so that the city is sometimes empty. It is certainly a charming retreat, and travellers say they have seen few spots to compare with it.

CHAPTER IV

47
ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY OF SIND PASSING INTO THE HANDS OF
THE OFFICERS OF THE EMPEROR'S AKBAR AFTER THE DEATH OF
SULTAN MAHMUD KHAN

I have before related how Kisū Khān came to Bhakhar on the 12th Jamādī ul -Awwal 982 Hijri (August 1574) bringing with him an imperial farmān, in which he was directed to divide Bhakhar equally between Muhib 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān, and then to proceed to Thatta and make Muḥammed Bāqī Tarkhān Prisoner.

At that time Mujāhid Khān was in the country of Ganjāvs, (Ganjābsh) but when he heard of Kisū Khān's arrival at Bhakhar, he hastened to meet him there. But before he arrived Kisū Khān, sought to clear out the fort of Sukkur. Mujāhid Khān's men procrastinated, but Kisū Khān disapproving of this, sent off a force of Sukkur. Waskil Khān who was the representative of Mujāhid Khān, fought upon the wall which Mujāhid Khān had built round Sukkur, and several persons on both sides were killed, and more wounded. Three days after the fight, Mujāhid Khān arrived and took away his men to Lohari. Sukkur then reverted entirely into the power of Kisū Khān, but towards Lohari the Pargana of Bhakhar was in the Possession of Muhib 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān. The men who had assembled (to support them) were broken-hearted. At this juncture, some of the Arghūn People deserted them and came to Bhakhar, where Kisū Khān had them put to death upon the malevolent

suggestion of Shāh Bābā, son of Jān Bābā Turkhān. Kisū-Khān was a severe harsh tempered man, and one day Barji Tswaji having been guilty of some fault, he had irons placed upon his feet in the Presence of his court.

Two months afterwards, Mujāhid Khān went up against Thatta, leaving Muhib 'Ali Khān in charge of their families. He halted for a few days at the town of Rāhipur in order to outfit his force. Kisū Khān, at the instigation of the men of Bhakhar, sent an army against Lohari, on Friday, the 2nd of Ramādān 982 A.H. (December 1574 A.D.), having divided his army into two parts he crossed over the river. One division he directed by way of the gardens of the city towards Lohari, and the other he embarked in ghrābs and boats and sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khawājā-i-Khidr. Muhib 'Ali Khān's men mounted and went towards the 'id-gāh. Kisū Khān's followers arrived in their ghrābs and set fire to Mujāhid-Khān's boats, and when the flames rose high, the horsemen fell back and went towards their homes. At this time Kisū-Khān's horsemen came up and threw rockets into the city and set it on fire in several places. Muhib 'Ali Khān then mounted his horse and fled. The men of Bhakhar now entered the city and pillaged until evening capturing the standard and kettle drum of Muhib 'Ali Khān which they bore off with them to the fort. When the intelligence reached Mujāhid 'Ali Khān he returned by forced marches to Lohari, but he was greatly dispirited, and in consideration of the royal power he refrained from molesting Kisū Khān.

The latter established himself in the fort of Bhakhar and practised great injustice. When the Emperor 'Akbar became acquainted with these facts he placed the country under the charge of Tarsū Khān, and in the beginning of Muharram 983 A.H (April 1575) Muhammed Tāhir Khān, son of Shāh - Muhammed Sayf-ul Mulk , and Muhammed Qāsim Khān and Mirzā Muhammed Sultān arrived at the town of Lohari, and sent to Kisū Khān a copy of the ~~farmān~~ farmān conferring the Jāg-ir of Bhakhar (On Tarsū Khān).

Kisū Khān was at first inclined to resist and to set these men at defiance, but when the matter came to be talked over, he went to the chief of the Sayyids, who sent some Priests and a Party of men to the three sardārs to give them counsel. The sardārs detained them all, and desired them to write a true statement of affairs and sent it to the Emperor. The Priests begged to be excused, but said they would write if both Parties were Present. The Sardārs replied that Kisū Khān's agents were Present, and that if the Priests would write the truth in their Presence, no further trouble would be given them. The Priests then entered upon the business. As soon as Kisū Khān heard this he was alarmed, for he saw that matters were going wrong, and that the forthcoming memorial would be ruinous to him. He therefore sent to say that he would give up the fort, and that they need not write. The Khāns sent word back that the memorial was written, and that they would keep to it ready. If he did not surrender the fort the letter should be sent to the Emperor ___ so Kisū Khān having no other remedy,

conducted the Khāns into the fort.

An order had been issued by the Emperor that Kisū Khān, in concert with the brethern of Tarsū Muhammad Khān, the Sayyids, and the chief men, should make enquiry about the treasure, houses, and effects of Sultān Mahmūd Khān, and send a detailed account there of to the Court. In obedience to the Royal orders, the People of Sultān Mahmūd's harem were sent to the Presence, and his chief wife, sister of Jahān Khān, was sent to Lāhore. At the same time, Khwāja Sarāf, Singh Darbārī, and Danwali Dās Nevisinda arrived for the purpose of setting the affairs of the treasure and of the People of the harem of Sultān Mahmūd. Having afterwards looked into the matter of the treasure at Lohari, they proposed to return by way of Nāgor in the beginning of Rajab of the year above named.

When Tarsū Muhammad Khān received Permission to depart from the court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Sayf-ul Mulk on the borders of the country, so he was appointed governor of Āgrā and a change was made in respect of Bhakhar, for Danwali Dās was sent there to take charge of the revenues and general affairs. Afterwards, for better security, Mir Sayyid Muhammad was dignified with the office of Mir-i-ʿAdl (Chief Justice), with a mansab of 1000, and appointed governor of Bhakhar.

On the 11th of Ramzān of the year above mentioned, he arrived at Bhakhar, and the ministers of religion and the chief men waited upon him to show due honour and

respect. He then gave 50,000 bighās of land to the Sayyids, learned men and others in portions suited to the position of each one. The ministers of religion enjoyed a happy time during his administration. In the early part of his rule he sent a force against the Mānkinjās of the district of the Gāgri who were rebellious and had opposed his officers. He acted oppressively towards the riots in revenue matters, for the fixed by measurement a payment of five 'mans' per bigha upon all lands alike, and the revenue officers, whom he appointed, dealt harshly with the cultivators. The troops of the Mir-i-ʿĀdl arrived at a small fort between Gambaz and Bajran. The Mānkinjās showing no respect, shot arrows at them, and several of the soldiers were killed. There was a well in the fort into which the graceless wretches threw the bodies both of Mussalmāns and infidels, and filled it up with earth. The Mir-i-ʿĀdl was enraged at this, and sent for reinforcements from Siwi, to take vengeance. After a short opposition, the Mānkinjās left their home and took to flight. Sayyid 'Ab-ʿul Fādī, the Mir-i-ʿĀdl's son, who commanded the troops, pursued them for some distance, and then returned to Bhakhar. Some time after this the Mir-i-ʿĀdl fell ill, he lost much blood and his weakness increased till he died on the 8th of Shāʿbān, 984 A.H. (October 1576 A.D.)

After his death, the Emperor appointed his son, 'Ab-ʿul Fādī, to succeed him in the government of Bhakhar. In the following year 'Ab-ʿul Fādī seized and confined the head men of Gāgri, and afterwards caused two or three of them to be trampled to death by elephants. On the 9th of

Dhi-'ul-Hajj 985 A.H. (Feb. 1578 A.D.) I'timād Khān, an eunch, and one of the emperor's trusty servants, came as governor to Bhakhar. He was a man of Passionate temper and did not deal kindly with the soldiers Peasants, or nobles. Some of the ministers of religion were troubled by his conduct, and resolved to carry their complaints to the Emperor. The governor there upon sent a Person to them with excuses, but they would not be satisfied, and resolutely determined to Proceed. When they reached the royal Presence they stated their grievances against that cruel man. The Emperor replied that if he had oppressed the People in the way represented, he would be killed. And it turned out exactly as the royal tongue Predicted, after this manner. He was an habitual jester and scoffer, and would utter vile and filthy expressions before good men; he also dealt niggardly with the troops; so on the 10th Rabi-'ul-'Awwal 986 A.H. (May, 1578 A.D.) a Party of soldiers conspired and slew him in his hall of audience.

After the death of I'timād Khān the Emperor granted the country of Bhakhar in Jāgir to Fatḥ Khān Bahādur, Rājā Parmānand and Rājā Todar Mal. In the month of Rajab of the same year the Khān and the other two grantees came to Bhakhar and took Possession of their respective Portions. Two years afterwards Parmānand proceeded to the court in obedience to orders. The Darījas afterwards quarrelled with his brother Mādhū Dās, and assembled in the town of Alor with hostile intent. Two or three fights followed, and men were slain on both sides. At length some turbulent

fellows joined in the attack, so Fatḥ Khān sent his own men to put them down. The insurgents were then beaten and dispersed. Fatḥ Khān then went to Court, where he was received with great favour. His 'mansab' was increased, and the Jāgir of Parnānd was assigned to him.

Fatḥ Khān was a simple-minded man, fond of money, who paid his thanks with his tongue, but he dealt kindly with the people and provided for their subsistence. He had a wakil named Shihāb Khān, a Zamindār of Samana, an inexperienced man, who knew nothing of business. At the instigation of one Farid he attacked the people of Khān Nahar, and led a force against the fort of Kin-Kot, which was in the hands of 'Ibrāhīm Nahar. A great battle followed, in which Fatḥ Khān's five men were slain. Shihāb Khān also fell with all his brothers. When intelligence of this reached the Emperor, he instantly resumed Fatḥ Khān's Jāgir and assigned it to Nawwāb Muḥammad-Ṣādiq Khān together with the duty of capturing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakhar on Tuesday the 12th Rabi-'ul-Awwal 994 A.H. (Feb. 1586 A.D.). The priests and others went out to meet him, and he received them all with honour and respect. For some time he stayed in Bhakhar settling its affairs in order, but in Dhi-'ul-Hajj of the same year, he marched against Siwistān. Before going on this expedition he fought with the men of Mirzā Jāni Beg, many of whom were killed. The breeze of victory thus began to blow on the banners ^{OF} Muḥammad Ṣādiq. He then proceeded on his expedition. Meanwhile Subhān 'Alī Arghūn, who was in

command of the enemy, had constructed a fort on the banks of the river, and had furnished it with munitions of war. He had also collected many 'Ghrābs' and boats there.

When Muhammad Sādiq advanced, the Arghūn came out in his 'ghrābs' and gave battle; but he was defeated and taken Prisoner alive, and many of his men were killed and wounded. Twelve 'ghrābs' also fell into the hands of the victors. Greatly elated with these victories he laid siege to Siwistān. His operations occupied some time, but he at length sunk a large mine which carried away the gate in front of the fort. Instructions had been given that no man was to enter the fort without orders, so when the smoke and dust cleared off, the besieged set to work, closing up the breach, and maintaining a fire from their cannons and guns (top-o-tufang). The Party on the top of the gateway which had been blown into the air fell to the ground uninjured. Mirzā Jāni Beg had now advanced with a force as far as Mihriān, which is six kos from Siwān. In consequence of this, Muhammad Sādiq raised the siege and went to oppose his Progress. When he came opposite the Lakki Hills, the Ghrābs of Mirzā Jāni opened fire upon him. They continued fighting for several days till an imperial 'Farmān' arrived stating that Mirzā Jāni Beg had sent suitable tribute to the court and had made humble and dutiful submission. Muhammad Sādiq therefore returned to Bhakhar, and after a short interval he repaired to court. One year afterward his Jāgir was taken from him. In the two Kharif harvests that passed while Muhammad Sādiq held Bhakhar locusts attacked the crops and famine ensued. Many men

emigrated in various directions. The Samijās and Baloches plundered both sides of the river and left nothing standing.

At the end of Rabi-'ul-thāni, 996 A.H. (Feb. 1588 A.D.), the Jāgir of Bhakhar was granted to 'Ismā'il Khān, and his son Rahmān Qūli Beg came to the place. This young nobleman was wise, and treated the People with great kindness and consideration, so that through his gentle management they be-took themselves once more to cultivation, and by their efforts the wasted land again became fruitful.

When 'Ismā'il Qūli Khān left Multān and went to the court, the Jāgir was taken from him and granted to Shiroya Sultān. In the beginning of Muharram 997 A.H. (Nov. 1588 A.D.), he came to Bhakhar. He was addicted to wine, and left the management of his affairs in the hands of his purchased slaves. Night and day he was engaged in riot and debauchery, and but seldom sat in public court, or allowed any one to have access to him. The Pensions and allowances to the Fāqirs were stopped. At one period Shaykh Sāngi received charge of the revenue and state business, and for a time he visited the shops and took possession of their money and business. He sent his son Muḥammad Husayn Beg to subdue Siwi, but the Afghāns assembled and fiercely opposed him. His advanced guard was composed of Baloches who fled at the first attack. The main body was then assaulted. Many were slain and many taken prisoners. The rest were broken and put to flight, but the weather was hot, and large numbers died of thirst in the mirage. Those who escaped alive were a long time before they recovered. The walls occasioned by the violence and tyranny of Shiroya at

length ascended to heaven, from whence the glad tidings of his removal came to the people of Bhakhar. They escaped from his malignity and once more lived in peace, for Muhammad Sādiq Khān again received the Jāgir.

On the second of Rabi-'ul-Awwal 998 A.H. (December, 1589 A.D.). Mirza Muhammad Zāhid, son of Muhammad Sādiq, came to Bhakhar. He treated the people with kindness and poured the balm of justice upon hearts wounded by tyranny. He was good-looking and good-natured, and he associated with learned and excellent men. He restored the pensions and allowances in accordance with the grants made by his father, and put a stop to oppression. Khawāja Muhammad Na'qūm was Muhammad Sādiq's wakil. He was a man of excellent qualities, and competent in all business. The people were re-assured and went about their cultivation and building. But a heavenly visitation fell upon the spring crop of that year; notwithstanding the care of the government, evil days ensued, and it was impossible to collect the taxes. A scarcity of food again occurred.

About this time his Majesty the Emperor had to make a public example. When the Royal Court was removed to Lāhore, Mirzā Jāni Beg, in imitation of Mirzā Shāh Husayn renounced his obedience, and pretended to independence. The Khān Khānān was accordingly sent to take Thatta and bring the Baloches under control. He reached the place in the month of Shawwāl of the year aforesaid, between the autumnal and vernal harvests, and proceeded to set all things in order. At that time, I, the author of this history,

Proceeded from Ahmadābād in Gujerāt to the Imperial Court. By good fortune my mother had sent some little curiosities, which I presented to his Majesty. Thereupon he enquired with great condescension how many years I had been absent from my mother, and afterwards return to my mother. I replied that it was twenty years. He was graciously pleased to direct that I should go to visit my mother, and afterwards return to my duty. He further ordered the grant of a Jāgir to me. Thereupon, Muḥammad Sādiq came to my aid, and said that as I was going to Bhakhar, it would be very pleasant to have my Jāgir there. His Majesty said that Bhakhar had been granted in Jāgir to the Nawwāb Khān-i-Khānān. The latter was present at the time and said that if His Majesty pleased to make me a grant in Bhakhar he would assign it over to me, but if so he hoped to receive an equivalent elsewhere. The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakhar, and the officials assigned to me the Parganas of Darbela, Gāgri and Chāndūka. After this was arranged, His Majesty in his great kindness and consideration gave me a boat and one of his own four coats, and as he dismissed me he quoted the line "sit not down, but travel, for it is very sweet".

On the 14th Šafer, 999 A.H. (Nov. 1590 A.D.), I reached Bhakhar, where the Khān-i-Khānān had arrived before me. The weather was hot and the river high, so he stayed some days there; but when the star Canopus appeared he dismissed me with Bahādur Khān, Mullā Maḥmūdī, and some others. We went to Sihwān, and the Khān-i-Khānān followed

and overtook us there. The people of Sihwān closed the gates of their fort. The Khān-i-Khānān then consulted with his nobles as to whether it was better to march against Mirzā Jāni Beg in Thatta at once, or to stop and take Sihwān before proceeding. They all agreed that as Sihwān was in the direct road, and their men and boats must pass that way, it was desirable to secure it before going further. Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (morchas) were raised, and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river. But intelligence came that Nawwāb Jāni Beg had left Thatta with a powerful force and was advancing against us. So the siege was raised and our forces turned to oppose him. Jāni Beg then threw up a sort of fort on the bank of the river at the village of Lohari above Naarpur, and there strengthened his position.

When the Khān-i-Khānān came within about six kos from this fortified post Jāni Beg sent 120 armed ghrābs and many boats under the command of Khusrū Khān and other officers, and also two armies, one on each bank of the river, to make a simultaneous attack on the camp of the Khān-i-Khānān. To meet them our forces advanced a little on the bank of the river, where we raised some sand-works covering five or six Jaribs of ground. Muhammad Muqim Khān Bakhshi, 'Ali Mardān Khān, Murid Khān Sarmadi, and the writer of this history, with several other noblemen, were appointed to that humble fortification. Our instructions were, that when the ghrābs came up they must

necessarily Pass in front of our fortified Position, because just in front of it there was a large sand-bank from which they must cross over to reach our camp. In fact, Muhammad Muqim was sent there he was told that his business was to prevent any danger to the camp on that side. In the afternoon (of Shawwāl 999 A.H./1590 A.D.) the ghrābs came up, when they perceived that on one side there was water with a sandbank, and on the other side water with a fort, so they arrested their Progress, and guns from both sides announced the opening of the fight. In the course of the night the Khān-i-Khānān sent a Party over to the opposite side.

The force which Jāni Beg had appointed for the purpose assaulted our gate, but it had been well secured, and their efforts were vain. In the morning, the ghrābs came up in front of the camp. The guns in our fortification were appointed too high, so that the balls passed over the ghrābs and fell among our friends on the other side, killing several of them. The muzzles of the guns were then depressed, so that the balls passed through the ghrābs on our side of the river, and then touching the water rose again and crushed eight or nine boats (Kighti) killing a number of men. But they were prepared for this___ for in each ghrāb there were carpenters who quickly repaired the damages. The fight was carried on and the firing continued in this way for that day. On one side was the fort and army of the Khān-i-Khānān on the other the sandbank, and the ghrābs must pass between them against a strong current. The battle conti-

-nued till after mid-day, and the enemy had many men killed by the guns. They then saw that they could not pass the fort, and that they were losing many men, so they were compelled to retreat. The Khān-i-Khānān's boats followed in pursuit and the army harassed them from the shore. Khusrū Khān acted judiciously; keeping his own ghrābs in the rear he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingi fighting men on board fell into his hands. The royal ghrābs had accompanied the ghrābs of Khusrū Khān and unfortunately some fire from the latter reached the magazine of the royal vessel, and all it contained was burnt. Some of the crew escaped into other vessels which happened to be near, but a large proportion was killed. Still a great victory was won.

Next day we marched against the fort of Jāni Beg in which he had fortified himself. There were some little sand-hills (Chihls) around, and the place seemed difficult to take. When we tried to invest the place, the Khān-i-Khānān and his officers found the work impracticable. One night we made a general assault upon the place on every side, but it was too strong and we gained nothing. It was then determined by the Khān-i-Khānān that he would proceed with a force to Sehwān and take possession of the country of Thatta.—that another force should go to Badin and Fatḥ-bāgh, and that Shāh Beg Khān should march to besiege Shāh-garh, a place that had been built by Shāh Qāsim Arghūn. The Khān-i-Khānān accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badin, Fatḥ Khān and Jun, and Shāh Beg besieged Shāh-garh. Sayyid Bahā-'ul-Din, the author, and several other attendants

of the Khān-i-Khānān, went to Sihwān, where many of the defenders were killed.

When the garrison found that matters were going hard with them they wrote to Jāni Beg that unless he came to their aid, the place must be lost. Upon learning this the Mirzā marched with great alacrity to Sihwān. When he had reached a point about twenty kos from us, we received intelligence of his advance. We held a council, and determined to fight him; so we raised the siege and marched to oppose his advance. When the Khān-i-Khānān heard this he sent Muḥammad Khān Miẓāzi and some other of his officers with reinforcements for us. We were near the Lakki Hills when they joined us, and our united force then amounted to 1200 horse. Jāni Beg was advancing through the hills with 10,000 horse, together with a numerous body of infantry and archers, and he had ghrābs and cannon coming up the river. When he was six or seven kos distant, our leaders perceived that if we remained where we were, we might be attacked on every side. Jāni Beg might attack us from the hills, the ghrābs from the river, and the men of Sihwān from the near, so that we should be in a critical position. We therefore resolved to march on and meet him, and our forces were accordingly set in motion. Jāni Beg received intelligence of our movement through his spies, but could not credit it, for he asked what our numbers could be, and what must be our presumption to venture on such a step. But the dust of our march then became visible to him, and he instantly proceeded to set his army in array. It was noon when the contending forces met. When our vanguard

became engaged, some of the men took flight and fled. The enemy pursued, and coming up with our main body the battle became general. Three or four fierce charges were made, but at length the enemy were defeated. Jāni Beg stood his ground and fought desperately, but seeing that all was over, he also fled. The enemy lost many men in killed and prisoners. Jāni Beg retreated to Unarpur, twenty kos from the battle-field, where he raised a small fort and strengthened his position. We besieged the place, and after some days the Khān-i-Khānān arrived in person.

The batteries were pushed forward, and fighting went on every day, in which many on both sides were killed. Digging approaches to the fort, we reached the edge of the ditch, and raised there a mound of earth. Jāni Beg was then reduced to despair, and offered terms. His proposal was to give over to us thirty ghrābs and the fort of Sihwān. He himself would return to Thatta, but would meet us again afterwards. The Khān-i-Khānān consulted with his officers, and they all agreed that Jāni Beg was reduced to extremities, and that no terms should be made with him ____ it was a mere question of a day or two ____ and if he were allowed to return to Thatta he would probably change his mind. The Khān-i-Khānān observed that if we assaulted the fort, many men on both sides would be slain, and that the wives and families of the garrison would fall into our hands and might be treated with indignity, for these reasons he would accept the terms, and would further obtain a 'mansab' of 5000 from the Emperor for Jāni Beg. No doubt his decision was sound. The representatives of Jāni Beg then came into our lines, the

terms were settled, the ghrābs were given up, a Person was sent to Sihwān to secure the surrender of the fort, and Jāni Beg himself set out for Thatta. The Khān-i-Khānān stayed in the village of Sann during the inundations, but in the winter he departed for Thatta. When we approached Fatch-bāgh, Jāni Beg came forward to meet us, and there was an interview and friendly intercourse between the two chiefs. Leaving Jāni Beg at this place the Khān-i-Khānān proceeded to Thatta, and there he distributed among his Officers and soldiers all the effects (basat) he had with him. He next went to Lahori-bandar, where gazed upon the Sea (Daryā-i-Shor). Then he departed from this place he left Daulat Khān and Khwājā^c Muqim in charge. A royal mandate had arrived directing him to bring Jāni Beg to Court, in consequence of this he started off, taking Jāni Beg with him, and hastened by forced marches to the Imperial Presence. Every kindness and consideration was bestowed upon Jāni Beg through the friendly statements of the Khān-i-Khānān. The country of Thatta was graciously restored to him, and he was received into the royal service with a 'mansab' of 5000. Still further favour was shown him, and Khūsru Khān was named to be his son-in-Law.

When His Majesty set out for the Dekhin, intent upon the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Qasim, on the 27th Rajab 1008 Mirzā Jāni Beg died of apoplexy or brain fever, and upon the solicitation of Nawwāb 'Allāmi, the country of Thatta was granted to Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, son of the deceased Mirzā.

1. Sayyid Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm : "Tārīkh-i-Sindh"; alias "Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūm"; "Introduction and life sketch of Ma'ṣūm" under cited P. ح. Dr. U. M. Dāūdpoṭa, Bombay, 1938. (See also Sindhi Translation of Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūm; P. 13; Translated by Makhdūm 'Ameer Ahmad, S.A.B; Karachi 1953.
2. Ibid _____ (Persian Text) "Introduction" under P. ط. and Sindhi Translation P. 13.
3. Ibid _____ (Persian Text) "Introduction" under P. ی and Sindhi Translation P. 14.
4. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text) P. 200. مسودہ اوراق نیز اقتباس علوم در حوزہ دینی ایشان محوہ .
5. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text) P. 203. مشکوۃ رامن الی آخرہ مع منتخب حیات پیغمبر ایشان گزرا بنیدہ و اجازہ حاصل محوہ اولہ
6. Khwāja Nizām-ul-Din- "Tabaqat-i-Akbari" Vol. II; Ahmed Bakshi; PP. 330-331; Calcutta, 1927-35.
7. Sayyid Ma'ṣūm : Op. Cit. (Persian Text) P. 251. پیرلہ دریلہ و کالری و چندولہ درجہ جاگیر بندہ مقرر گردانیدند. و بعد از تشخیص جاگیر حضرت از کمال مرحمت و بندہ پروری بر سرکشتی شریف شریف ارزانی داشتہ، و بہ پوسٹین خاص سرافراز ساختہ بندہ را رخصت فرمودند الفرض کہ بتاریخ ۱۳ صفر ۹۹۹ ہجری بہ بھکر رسیدہ .

8. Ibid; (Persian Text); PP. 251-257.

9. Newsb Shams-ul-Doulah Shah News Khān, "M'athar-ul-'Umrā"
Vol: III; P. 327; Calcutta, 1888-1891.

10. Sayyid Ma'qūm: Op.Cit. (Persian Text); PP. 131-132.

11. Ibid _____ (Persian Text) PP. 132.

بنا بران خوش نویسن و سنگ تراشان را از بکسر طلبیده کتب در آنجا
نوشت، و نام حضرت شجاعت آذربایانی و حضرت شاهنشاهی و اکثر شهرهای
ممالک محروسه ایشان از اقصای حدود بنگاله تا بندر لاهور، و از کابل
و غزنین تا دکن همه را داخل ساخته، قریب چهار سال آنجا کار کرده
باتمام رسانید، الحق مجموعه شده است که خلائق بتماشای میروند

12. Ibid _____ (Sindhi Translation); P. 18.

13. 'Abū'l Faḍl 'Allāmī; "Akber Nāma"; Vol. III., P. 836
Calcutta, 1877-1886.

میر معصوم بکری، که بسفارت ایران نزد شاه عباس رفته بود،
آمده بدولت ملازمت رسید و نامه والی ایران و مکتوبی که
عنه شاه بصورت میرم مکاتب نگاشته بود از نظر اقدس
گذرانید.

(See also Sindhi Translation; "Tārikh-i-Ma'qūmī"; P. 20)

14. Sayyid Ma'qūm: Op.Cit. ("Sindhi Translation"); P. 20.

15. Ibid; P. 20.

16. Ibid; P. 20 (See also " Introduction of "Tārikh-i-Ma'qūmī"
by Dr. U.M.Daūd Pota under "بیر").

17. Ibid; " Introduction", by Dr. U.M.Daūd Pota under "بطه"

18. Ibid; _____ Under "بطه"

19. Ibid; _____ Under "بطه"

20. Ibid; _____ Under "که"

21. Ibid; P. 79.
و چون از احوال مردم مسومره و سیمه نسبی که در احوال ایشان بتفصیل
مرقوم باشد بنظر نیامده، بنان بران مجهلی که مکتوب یافت -
مرقوم گردانید.

22. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text); PP. 128-130.

23. Elliot & Dowson, "Historians of Sind"; Vol. I, P. 116.

24. S. M. Aslam - Op. Cit. "Introduction"; by U. M. Daud Pota
under the P. "کثر".

25. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text); P. 3.

باشد که از مطالعہ احوال تربیت یافتگان مهد امکان و گذشتگان
بسی نوع انسان بلوازم خیر و شر و مواد نفع و ضرر و قوف و اطراغ
حاصل نموده، بحسن سیرت و دشمنان آگاه و نیکو مفتان بارگاه
الهدایا

26. Ibid _____ (Persian Text); P. 5.

27. Ibid _____; P. 5.

28. Ibid _____; PP. 4-6.

29. Ibid _____; P. 16.

30. Ibid _____ "Introduction"; by U. M. Daud Pota
under "کح".

31. Ibid _____ PP. 60-61.

32. Ibid _____ PP. 62-63.

33. Ibid _____ PP. 64-65.

34. Ibid _____ PP. 65-66.

35. Ibid _____ P. 66.

36. Ibid _____ PP. 66-67.

37. Ibid _____ PP. 67-68.

38. Ibid _____ PP. 68-69-70.

39. Ibid; _____ P. 70
40. Ibid _____ PP. 70-71.
41. Ibid _____ PP. 71-72.
42. Ibid _____ PP. 72-73.
43. Ibid _____ PP. 73-74-75-76.
44. Ibid _____ PP. 76-77-78-79.
45. Ibid _____ PP. 128-129-130.
46. Ibid _____ PP. 131 to 134.
47. Ibid _____ PP. 242 to 257.

'IDRĀKI BAGLĀRI TATTAWI.

¹
'Idrāki Baglāri belonged to Turk Arghūns. He
²
compiled a Mathnawi, "Chanesar Nāms" in 1010 A.H./1601 A.D.
His Poetical name was 'Idrāki'. Mir Qāni³ has quoted some
couplet² from his mathnawi written in Praise of his Patron
Mir 'Abu'l-Qāsim Sultān (d.969 A.H./1561 A.D.).

ابوالقاسم بهادر بیگ سلطان - کہ در پایش سرِ خیم است غلطان
بودشہ را بدرد رتبہ افزون - بہادر شاہ قاسم خان ارغون
ز نسل بیگارانِ معظم - با سیم و تیغ مشہور و مکرم

چو ادرائی "غلامِ درگاہ" اوست - مطیع لطف گاہ و بیگہ اوست
ہمیشہ از خدا خواہد حیاتش - بود از جان غلامِ التفاتش

No account of his life is available. He composed "Baglār-Nāms"; but he has not mentioned anything about his life and achievements.

2. This Mathnawi has been Published by Sindhi Adabi Board in 1956.

The Mathnavis which were composed in Arghūn (927-962 A.H./1520-1554 A.D.) and Tarkhān 962-1000 A.H./1554-1591 A.D. period, "Chanesar Nāms" ranks the third 'Mathnawi' among them. Moreover it was the beginning of Mathnawi writing in Sindhi. Before this the following two Mathnavis were compiled -

"BEGLĀR -NĀMA".

The author says that he has taken this ^{work} under the guidance and advice of his Patron, Amir Qāsim Khān, son of 'Amir Sayyid Qāsim Beglār (Prince); who was a great warrior and celebrated for gallant conduct in the field.

غرض از تهیه این مقدمات و تحریر این کلمات آنست که چون مفت
سنگمات و شجاعت امیر قاسم خان ابن میت قاسم بیگلار
موجود و متحقق بود این فقیر ذرّه حقیر بموجب انتشارت امیر
کبیر روشن ضمیر را در مورد که تمامی حالات و واقعات حروب و
کروب آنحضرت را بیان نماید

"Idrāki Beglāri says that as this treatise contains the account of "Beglār" (Prince), hence it has been named "Beglār

Nāma".
و چون این رساله مشتمل بر مناقب و حالات و محتوی مآثر و کمالات
"بیگلار" است بنا بر آن با اسم "بیگلار نامه" موسوم گشت

We find that 'Idrāki' has given the account of 'Abu'l- Qāsim

Sultān, "Khān Zamān".
بدانکه مقصود از تفسیق این کلام و تمیق این ارقام اصالة و بالذات
بیان و حالات و واقعات حضرت "خان زمان" است !

(Continued from p. 155).

- 1) "Mathnawī Maḡharat al-Āthār"; Jāhāngīr Ḥāshim, Kirmāni Bhakhari (d. 946 A.H./1539 A.D.) compiled for Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, (d. 962 A.H./1554 A.D.) in 940 A.H./1533 A.D. It has been Published by the S.A.B. in 1957.
- 2) "Tarraṭum-i-Īshq"; compiled by Muḥammad Muqīm "Shāfir" Tattawī in the Period of Mirgā Jāni Beg (993-1009 A.H./1585-1600 A.D.).

Amir Shāh Qāsim (or Qāsim Khān Beglār) belonged to Samarkand and he migrated from there and came to Sind in the days of Shāh Husayn Arghūn (d. 962 A.H./1554 A.D.). He was received in his court with distinction. The genealogy is given in ⁷ Beglār Nāma and ⁸ Tuhfatul Kirām. They drive their origin from ⁹ Hajrat 'Alī son-in-Law and cousin of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon).

We find that he married the niece of the Rānā Kotrah (Koyah) Wairai of 'Umar Kot'.

Khān Zamān afterwards served successively Mirzā 'Isā (I) Tarkhān (d. 973 A.H./1565 A.D.), Jān Bābā (d. 973 A.H./1570 A.D.) Mirzā Muḥammad Bēgī (d. 993 A.H./1585 A.D.) and Mirzā Jāni Beg (d. 1009 A.H./1600 A.D.).

When Mirzā Jāni Beg went to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar (d. 1014 A.H./1605 A.D.), Khān Zamān accompanied him, and was favoured by the Emperor. He then was appointed in Sind under Mirzā Ghāzī Beg. (d. 1021 A.H./1612 A.D.) and lived to an old age in the country, surrounded by a large and thriving family:

The exact date of the compilation of Beglār Nāma cannot be fixed, but it is presumed that this work was composed in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and afterwards the author made necessary amendments in it till 1034 A.H./1624 A.D. This book is useful

E. Qānī:— Tuhfatul Kirām: (Urdū Translation), P. 279.
S.A.B. Karachi: 1959.

for the history of Arghūn (927-962 A.H/1520-1554 A.D.) and
Tarkhan (962-1000 A.H/1554-1591 A.D.) Period.

2.
EXTRACTS.

12
ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF SIND.

Sind derives its name from Sind, the son of Hām the son of Nūh (God's Peace be with him) and the Province remained in Possession of his descendants; but their names cannot be found in any books of history, nor have heard them in legendary stories, and I am therefore compelled to omit them. That which I have heard from common report is this, that in olden time the Province of Sind was held by the tribes of Bina; (Paniyah) Tak, and Nabuniya; (Mūmid) but the Period of their government is not known. After a time, Sahāsi Rāi reigned in the fort of Alor, and all Sind and Hind was under his rule. When he died Chach Brahman became master of Sind and Hind. His Capital was the fort of Kashmir. His son Dāhir succeeded him and became master of the whole kingdom. In his days the armies of Islām arrived under the command of Muhammad Qāsim, and after many battles Dāhir was slain.

2. These extracts have been taken from Elliot and Dowson, "History of India, as told by its own historians" Vol. II pp. 41 to 45.

13
MIR QĀSIM BEGLĀR MARRIES THE DAUGHTER
OF RĀNĀ KUMBA.

It appears that in those days when Mir Qāsim Beglār deceased held the governorship of 'Umarkot, Rānā Kumba Wairsi represented to him that an inveterate and deep-rooted enmity existed between his People and the Rāthors of the fort of Nilma, and he was therefore solicited to march against them, that ample revenge might be taken. The Mir complied with his request, and has accordingly marched with the People of the Sodhas tribe in that direction. When the warlike and fierce Rāthors were informed of the coming of the ever-successful army, they armed themselves and advanced boldly to the field of battle. Both armies stood in powerful array against each other. The Rānā intimated to the Mir that it was an old-established custom amongst their tribes that both Parties should alight from their horses and engage on foot. The most noble Amir agreed to this and issued orders to his army, which consisted of Sodhas, that they opposed the enemy. The Amir took his bow from the assel and began to shoot his arrows. Every arrow told, piercing through the armour and bodies of ~~the~~ enemy, and each time sending a soul to the world of annihilation.

E. This Place is half a way between 'Umar Kot and Jessalmir.

Twenty of the enemy having been slain, the remnant took to flight, confessing the Mir's bravery, and lauding him with a hundred thousand tongues. When the sodhas witnessed such bravery and intrepidity, they resolved to honour themselves by seeking a matrimonial alliance with the Mir. The great and noble Mir, according to the will of God, accepted their Prayers, and Rājā the daughter of Rānā Kumba Wairsi's sister, a most modest chaste girl, whose father was the Bhatti Chief of the fort of Jessalmir, was betrothed to him.

14
DEPUTATION OF KHĀN-I-ZAMĀN ON A MISSION TO

RĀI DHAR RĀJĀ OF JESALMIR.

Khān-i-Zamān, with the aid of the Almighty, proceeded, with his friends and suite, after taking leave of Mirzā Jān Bābā towards Jessalmir. When he arrived, he halted outside the fort on the margin of the tank, and despatched a messenger to Rāi Dhar Rājā to say that Mirzā Jān Bābā had sent a robe of honour for him. The Rāi with much politeness, requested him to stay where he was encamped, and intimated that he would come to him on an auspicious day and hour to be invested with the robe. In those days the Periodical rains, by the will of God, had not fallen, and the land all round was parched up. A single vessel of water was to be had only at a very heavy price, for there was no water in the lake. But, when the prosperous feet of this nobleman touched that ground, suddenly, by the will of God, rain fell; the dry land became saturated and green herbs sprung up in every place.

In the morning, the Rāi came to visit him and had the honour of meeting him. He said that the rain had fallen only on account of his Prosperous Presence. He accompanied the Khān with great honour and respect into the fort, and then performed the rites of hospitality. Each day he showed him great honour. The great, Khān stayed there for the period of five months.

After that he took leave and turned his reins towards Nagpur. Having reached the banks of the bank of Sankra, he learnt that Jaish (Habsh) Khān and 'Alā'ul-Din, having pursued their course along the eastern bank of the river, were proceeding towards Thatta to meet Jān Bābā. When they had reached the stream of the Rain, they were informed that Mirzā Jān Bābā, accompanied by Sayyid 'Alī Shirāzi, had gone to Mirzā Muhammad Bāqi, and according to the will of God had been slain. On hearing this, they returned and reached Nagpur plundering the country on their road. Khān-i-Zamān also went thither and met them.

The exigencies of the time were such that he owed money, and as none of these people showed him any humanity and favour, he was much distressed in mind. He said he had placed all his reliance on Mirzā Jān Bābā, on whom the decree of God had now passed. He observed to his companions, "At present it is urgently necessary for me to pay some money in liquidation of my debt, what is your advice?"

They replied ____ "These People Possess much wealth and are Proud of their riches. Now we are at your Service and ready to accompany you wherever your desire." On this, he Proceeded towards the Sodhas, at the village of Tarangchi.

THE PLUNDER OF TARANGCHI.

Khān-i-Zamān, by the advice of his companions, set out and crossed at waters of Sānkra. When Dudā and Ghāzi learnt that he had gone in that direction with only a few men, they rode after him. As soon as 'Alā'ul-Dīn and Miyān informed that their sons Ghāzi and Dudā had gone to join Khān-i-Zamān, they also marched in the same direction with the intention of bringing them back. They reached the banks of the Sānkra at the time that Khān-i-Zamān had crossed it, while Dudā and Ghāzi were only then preparing to pass the stream. When they saw that their fathers had come to take them back, they immediately threw themselves into the stream, swam their horses over, and joined Khān-i-Zamān. They would not return, for they reflected that, if at this time they ~~did~~ not accompany him, the reward of their past services would be forfeited.

In the afternoon, Khān-i-Zamān, having watered his horses left the village of Rāhū Madh, and that renowned lion, with only twelve horsemen, travelled through a large jungle the whole night. On arriving the village of Tarangchi, he found the camels of the Sodhas there, and determined to carry them off without delay; but it occurred

to him that he had better first let his horses quench their thirst. With this intent he proceeded towards the village, and there found the tracks of five hundred horses that had just passed over the ground. He was alarmed, and thought how impossible it was to save himself with so few men against such a host!

He, however, advanced and asked the driver of the camels what army had passed by that road. The man replied that Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī and Mirzā Jān Bābā had quarrelled with each other, and that the former had asked the Sodhas to reinforce him. Hence a force of about five hundred men of the Waiss tribe had passed that way. The Khān's companions were much alarmed at this intelligence, and brought back their horses without watering them; but they bravely and gallantly carried off the camels; many of these animals died on account of the severe marches they had to make. The next day, in the afternoon, the dauntless heroes reached the village of Rāhū Madh, where they stayed only sufficient time to drink water. At night-fall they halted at the village of Pariyari. Early next morning they pursued their journey, and reached the village of Sitara, (Sityārah) which belonged to the Anran ('Unrān) tribe. There they rested themselves without fear or danger.

They divided the camels amongst themselves without fear or
They divided the camels amongst themselves. One was given to Jaish (Hāsh) Khān, another to Birlās, (Yārlas) another to 'Alā-'ul-Dīn, and another to Miyan Sodha.

1. Qānī :- "Māqālāt-ul-Shu'arā"; P. 11.
S.A.B., Karāchi; 1957.
2. Ibid; _____ pp. 11-112-119.
3. Qānī :- "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām"; P. 279. (Urdu Translation); S.A.B. 1959.
4. 'Idrāki Baglārī :- "Baglār Nāma" (Persian Text);
P. 5; Sind University Press
Hyderābād.
5. Ibid; (Persian Text) P. 6.
6. Ibid; (_____) P. 6.
7. Ibid; (_____) P. 23.
8. Ibid; (_____) PP. 25-26.
9. Ibid; (_____) P. 29.
10. Qānī :- Op. cit. (Urdu Translation) PP. 277-278.
11. Elliot & Dowson :- "The History of India"; As told
by its own historians, P. 39. Vol. I
II. Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1956.
12. 'Idrāki :- "Baglār Nāma"; Persian Text; P. 7.
13. Ibid; PP. 29-30.
14. Ibid; pp. 125 to 129.

ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS.

SAYYID TĀHIR MUHAMMAD "NISYĀNĪ" TATTAWI.

Sayyid Tāhir Muhammad "Nisyānī" Tattawi was born in 990 A.H./1582 A.D.¹ He got his early education under the care of his father, Sayyid Hasan.²

The family of Sayyid Tāhir Muhammad lived in Astrābād, (Irān). It is said that Mir Hyder of Astrābād, had a son, named Sayyid Husayn "Sāhrā'ī". Hence it became the family name as "Sāhrā'ī"; Sayyid Husayn had two sons, Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Akra'ī and Sayyid Muhammad Tāhir Dalwal. It is presumed that Sayyid Tāhir Muhammad belongs from the line of Sayyid Muhammad Tāhir Dalwal.³

Then the family migrated from Astrābād to Sind, and both the brothers, Muhammad Bāqir Akra'ī and Muhammad Tāhir Dalwal came to Thatta. Sayyid Tāhir Muhammad 'Nisyānī's, "Paternal grand-father", lived in Darbela and it was his native place of maternal grand-father. His grand father lived there for some time and then returned to Thatta. But according to Tuhfat-ul-Kirām, Sindhi Translation (based on Qānī's⁴ hand written copy⁵), that Mirzā Husayn then built a residence near the "Quarter of Bhaikhān". When Mir 'Alī Sher Qānī⁶ composed his "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām" in 1181 A.H./1776 A.D.;

Mir Tāhir Muḥammad's descendants were living in a "Storeyed building" (in Thatta) and they were called Bāghs'i-Sahrā'i Sayyids, (belonging) to 'garden' and to 'desert'). Dr. H.A. Baloch, writes in "Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri's", "Introduction" :-
 "At Present the Bāghs'i Sayyids, who are the direct descendants of Mir Tāhir Muḥammad, live at Thatta in the quarter which is known after their family name as "Bāghs'i Muhalla". It is situated on the eastern side of the grave of Shāh Munbah, and here they have been living from the 'Quarter of Bhaikhān' on the Western side of Shāh Munbah's grave to their Present Quarter on the eastern side of Sain-t's grave and have continued to live there subsequently".

The maternal grand father of Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad "Misfāt", Jām 'Umar Shāh, the chief of the Pargana (Sub-Division) of Darbela, went to meet the Emperor Humāyūn with his sons. When he was invited by Mirzā Shāh Hassan Arghūn (d. 962 A.H./1555 A.D.) in 949 A.H/17th April, 1542 A.D., at Bakhar. They invited the Emperor and he visited their territory. The Emperor was impressed very much with their hospitality and services rendered by them, that he wrote a document in favour of 'Jām'Umar Shāh' and his sons Pledging that the Province of Bhakhar has come under control, the district of Darbela, (the fertile territory covering approximately the present Naushahro Feroze Sub-Division of the Nawābhshāh District) is rewarded to him and his descendants.

'Umar Shāh, the chief and his sons served Humāyūn in Northern Sind. When Humāyūn determined to leave the territory of Sind, 'Umar Shāh died at 'Alor, and his

sons returned to ⁸ Darbela. Sultān Mahmūd Khān, the governor of Bhakhar made an adverse report against the chief ('Umār Shāh) and his sons. At this Mirzā Shāh Hasan issued orders for their death. Mahmūd Khān seized both the sons of 'Umār Shāh; Dā-ūd and Hala. They were put to death for this injudicious zeal, one being sewn up in a hide and thrown into the river from the battlement of Bhakhar, the other flayed alive, and his skin sent, stuffed with straw, to Mirzā Shāh Hasan Arghūn. The other family members in a harassment, sent the Emperor's document to Mir Tāhīr Muḥammad's grand mother (daughter of 'Umār Shāh) and left for Gujrāt, where they settled down at Ahmadābād.⁸

The document alluded to was unfortunately destroyed, when Mirzā Jānī Beg ordered Thatta to be fired on the approach of the imperial army.¹⁰

Sayyid Hasan, the father of Sayyid Tāhīr Muḥammad "Nisyanī" was a young man, at the time of Mirzā Muḥammad Baqī's death (993 A.H/1585 A.D.) and he had¹¹ acquired a good education of his times, as Mir 'Allī Sher¹² Qānī remarked him, a man of 'excellent merits'. He served as a sepoy in his youth and his superiors called him as a man of, "Piety and devotion dedicate to fasting during the day and Prayers at night."¹³

It is presumed that Sayyid Hasan joined military Service during the reign of Mirzā Muḥammad Baqī (973-993 A.H/ 1565-1585 A.D.). He was serving as a sepoy

in the casual troops of Malik 'Ahmad, the trusted lieutenant of Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī. The ruler had exalted Malik Ahmad to the highest office in order to occupy the place of his own dead son, Prince Shāh Rūkh¹⁴ (d. 992 A.H./ 14th January, 1584 A.D.). It has been reported by Sayyid Hasan that he was present at that night among the Chowki (Guards Unit) of Malik when Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī committed suicide on Thursday night the 8th of Shawwāl 993 A.H./1585 A.D.¹⁵ Malik Ahmad and his men were killed by his enemies. When the turn of Sayyid Hasan came, Khalīl Muḥardār (Keeper of the Seal) interceded on his behalf with Mirzā Jānī Beg and said, "This young sayyid is not guilty; he had committed no crime except that he was in the guard of Malik Ahmad. He got blood stains from the clothes of others but was not with them. This youthful Sepoy's Piety and devotion to God go to the extent that he fasts during the day and is absorbed in prayer at night. One day he will be useful to you, and in case his guilt is proved any time after this I myself stand surety for him". His life was fortunately saved through these supplications of Khalīl. Mirzā Jānī Beg compassionately reviewed his case and instructed Khalīl to look after 'His young man', carefully.¹⁶ Sayyid Hasan continued in the military service under Mirzā Jānī Beg, till he rose to the rank of a commander. He fought a great battle as a commander with Shāh Qāsim Khān Arghūn and Khusrāū Khān Jarks. This battle took place between Mirzā Jānī Beg and Khān-i-Khānān in 1000 A.H./1591-92 A.D.¹⁷

At the departure of Mirzā Jāni Beg from Sind in 1592 A.D. Sayyid Hasan was about 40 years old and after that he retired from active military service but his son Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad seems to have joined the service of Mirzā Ghāzi Beg by about 1010 -1011 A.H/ 1601 -1602 A.D. His age then was 23 years. He has described the events of Mirzā Ghāzi Beg's reign at Thatta and has told us in details about his court where eminent poets like Mullā Rēshidi and Mullā Murshid Brājurdī were present.¹⁸

It appears that when Mirzā Ghāzi Beg left Sind in 1013 A.H/¹⁹1604 A.D; and went to attend the court of Emperor Akbar, Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad accompanied him. Emperor Akbar died in 1014 A.H/1605 A.D, and at this sad occasion Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad wrote the chronogram and gave the year of the Emperor's death.²⁰

When Mirzā Ghāzi Beg left for Qandhār, Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad returned to Thatta and continued his further studies under Ākhūnd Ishāq Bhakharī, who was the tutor of Mirzā Ghāzi Beg too. The Ākhūnd possessed purely mystical thoughts and was a Sūfi. He had command over the works of Hāfiẓ (d.791 A.H/1389 A.D), Shaykh Saʿdī (b.606 A.H/1209 A.D.), Rūmī, (d. 712 A.H/1313 A.D), and Jāmi (d.898 A.H/1589 A.D.), Ākhūnd's guidance helped Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad in cultivating poetic talents and he himself became a poet. He also sought the guidance of Mir Zaheer-'ul-Din son of Shahr-'ullāh Shirāzi, and studied the qasidas of Khāqāni (d.595 A.H/1198 A.D) and Anvārī (d.587 A.H/1191 A.D), under him.²¹²²

We find that Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad reached Qandhār²³ as
the army was needed by Mirzā Ghazī Beg from Sind which was²⁴
in his Jāgir. But the latter had already entered the city²⁵
of Qandhār on the 12th of Shāwāl 1015 A.H/ March, 1607 A.D.
Unfortunately, Qandhār was stricken with famine and the
people were in distress; what ever they could get, they
had to eat. Sayyid Muḥammad Tāhir had a companion, named
Muḥammad Hāshim whom he shared the provision all the way
to Qandhār. The food stuffs had been consumed and it was
too difficult to get food, and more over it was sold at
exorbitant prices. Muḥammad Hāshim did not share any food
to his companions and he had a tin of ghee with him and he
used to eat his meals in privacy. Sometimes he took his
food even in the Lavatory; one day his companions exposed
his unworthy behaviour, but he gave them a cold shoulder. He
was habitual to hide a piece of meat and lay down inside the
bed-sheet as if he intends to sleep; but he always eat it
there. His companions decided to exhibit this secret. A
Companion, named Tūsuf Ali pulled his sheet off and slipped
away, meanwhile others snatched from him the bread and the
meat which Hāshim was eating inside it. He was, then, nick-
named Hāshim 'Sag' (Hāshim, the dog).²⁶

Mirzā Jānī Beg's men had to suffer a lot; so the
Emperor gave him permission to shift his Head-Quarter to
Bhakhar. He, then, shifted from Qandhār and camped in²⁷
Bhakhar for some time. After that the Emperor called Mirzā
Jānī Beg to his court and he left for Lāhore; but Sayyid
Muḥammad Tāhir returned to Thatta. When Mirzā Ghazī Beg

died at Qandhār in 1021 A.H/ 4th March 1612 A.D. Sayyid
²⁸
 Muhammed Tāhir was in Thatta. He has recounted in details
 the events which happened in Sind during the year
 1010 -1021 A.H/1601-1612 A.D. At this time Khusraū Khān
Chirkas was the executive Officer of Mirzā Jānī Beg at
 Thatta, and he desired to become an independent chief.
 in order to achieve this purpose he appointed his own men
 and relatives, gave them the key posts. These people never
 took interest in the betterment of the people and country,
 they had no regard for the peace and justice, so there was
²⁹
 a dissatisfaction and uneasiness all over the country. So,
 Mirzā Ghāzi Beg appointed a new chief at Thatta, Hindū
³⁰
Ghuriya and his title was "Sā'indino Khān". Khusraū Khān
 was called to Qandhār, but when he reached Halkandi the
³¹
 news of Mirzā Ghāzi Beg's death reached him. Mean while
³²
Hindū Khān had taken the charge of Nasarpur in 1020 A.H/
 16th March 1611 A.D. and then he reached in Thatta where
 he made new appointments in various places.

When Khusraū Khān Chirkas returned to Thatta, Sayyid
 Muhammed Tāhir was then a young man of 31 years. He had no
 inclination to serve under him. So he migrated to Darbela
 and passed his private life for six or seven years; i.e.
³³
 (1021-1027 A.H / 1612 - 1617 A.D.). He continued to study
 books and planned to write the history of Arghūn and Tarkhān
 rule in Sind. He was very eager for a Patron who could
³⁴
 support him in his work. At last he searched out Shāh
 Muhammad Beg "Adil Khān," who was accomplished and learned
³⁵
 man of his times. Besides this "Adil Khān belonged to the
 Arghūn dynasty. It appears that some Arghūn and Tarkhān chiefs

had come with Shāh Beg Arghūn to Sind. But some of them had served under Bābur and his successors. One of these chiefs was Shāh Beg Khān son of 'Ibrāhīm Beg Charbak of the Arghūn family who was the first man who served under Khān-i-Khānān as a commander and fought against the forces of Mirzā Jūnī Beg in Sind in the year 1000 A.H/1591 A.D.³⁶ Shāh Beg Khān lived by the end of Shābān 1028 A.H/December, 1618 A.D.³⁷ and when he became old, Emperor Jehāngir granted him the life-long Pension from the Khushāb district and bestowed official ranks on his three sons. The eldest son of Shāh Beg Khān was Shāh Mūhammad Khān and was conferred the rank of "One thousand plus six hundred additional cavalry".³⁸ After that Shāh Mūhammad was appointed at Lāhore between the end of 1028 A.H. / 19th December; 1618 A.D. on the beginning of 1029 A.H/1619 A.D. with the title "Shāh Mūhammad Beg 'Adil Khān". It is not known when Sayyid Tāhir Mūhammad joined him, but it appears that he was already with him at Lāhore in 1029 A.H/1619 A.D.³⁹

In Lāhore they lived at the residence of 'Aīnsh Muḥalla',⁴⁰ who was the brother of late Āsif Khān. Then he accompanied his Patron to Kāngrah from where he took permission and returned to Darbela. In 1030 A.H/ 1620 A.D. When Shāh Mūhammad Beg 'Adil Khān was appointed on the new post at Qandhār,⁴¹ Sayyid Tāhir Mūhammad again came to his Patron and accompanied him to Multān, where he stayed for some months.⁴² After that Shāh Mūhammad Beg 'Adil Khān left Multān for Qandhār, he took leave from his Patron and returned to Darbells.⁴³

Here he looked after his Property. He desired that his Patron should attain a high rank but he was deposed from his Post in 1030 A.H./ 26th November, 1620 A.D. and was given a new Post in the city of Qandhār. While Emperor Jahāngir appointed 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān as the new governor of Qandhār and Shāh Moḥammed Beg 'Adil Khān had to work under him. According to the author of Ma'āthir-ul-Umara, as quoted by Dr. H.A. Baloch in his "Introduction", Mirsā Shāh Moḥammed (i.e. Shāh Moḥammed Beg 'Adil Khān son of Shāh Beg Khān) just reached the rank of "One Thousand" (Hazāri) and died. This was the reason by which Sayyid Tāhir Moḥammed retired to Private life for ever.

It is not known with certainty that when Sayyid Tāhir Moḥammed left Darbela for Thatta, but it appears that he might have come in Thatta by about 1037 A.H/12th September, 1627 A.D. when a descendant of Tarkhān family, Mirsā 'Isā-II (Son of Jān Bābā son of Mirsā 'Isā-I), was designated as the governor of Thatta by the Emperor Jahāngir. Sayyid Tāhir Moḥammed died at the age of 61 years in 1051 A.H/ 12th April 1641 A.D. and was buried at Makli. Dr. H.A. Baloch, has obtained the following inscription on the tomb which stands in the family grave-yard of the "Bāghā'i- Sayyids" adjacent to the mausoleum of of 'Abd-ul-Ilāh Shāh :-

بمؤدوفات میر طاهر - کو اصل نگو سرشتی آمد
 زین واقعہ دیدہ گشت دیا - زان دریا غم آب یکشتی آمد
 از لوح فنا ستردنتوان - این حرق کہ سرنوشتی آمد
 رفتیم جو بغیر سال فوتش - سید طاهر بهشتی آمد

TĀRIKH-I-BALDA-I-THATTA, KNOWN AS "TĀRIKH-I-TĀHIRI".

We know from Sayyid Tāhir Mohammedi's history "Tārikh-i-Tāhiri" that, 'during the nine years, from the beginning of 1021 A.H./ 4th March, 1612 A.D. to 1030 A.H./ 26th November, 1620 A.D., he was looking for some one to ⁴⁸ sponsor him, so that he may be able to write this work'. He intended to write the history of the Arghūn and Tārkhān rulers ingratitude to his late Patron, Mirzā Ghāzi Beg. It is obvious that when Mirzā Ghāzi Beg died on the 11th of Safer 1021 A.H/ 15th April, 1612 A.D. Sayyid Tāhir Mohammedi started collecting sample material for his work. After wards he joined the service of Shāh Mohammedi Beg 'Ādil Khān for ⁴⁹ achieving this specific goal of writing history. ⁵⁰

He started writing "Tārikh-i-Balda-i-Thatta", ⁵¹ (History of the capital city of Thatta). His Patron ordered him and suggested this name, but later on, it became known as, "Tārikh-i-Tāhiri"; after his Personal name. He completed 'the first Part of Introduction' (Khutba) in Lāhore at the ⁵² 'Ainsh Muḥalls' residence; and Presented to his Patron. Some of the Persons who were Present there did not like his endeavour made in this connection, but the Patron, Mirzā Shāh Mohammedi 'Ādil Khān appreciated his work and encouraged him. He completed his work, after Preliminary introduction in 1030 A.H/ 1621 ⁵³ A.D. he, nevertheless, hoped to meet with his reward, should it ever be his good fortune to be Presented to the reigning Emperor Jahāngir. ⁵⁴

We find only two contemporary references in his work, (i)
⁵⁵
Mirzā Muzaffar Tarkhān seems present in Kachh (ii) Mirzā
Bahram (Son of Mirzā Mohammad 'Amān Tarkhān) is serving
⁵⁶
to the Emperor (Jahāngir).

Sayyid Tāhir Mohammad says that he started
⁵⁷
writing this history at Multān and showed the accounts of
~~the accounts~~ of different events to his Patron who made
some amendments in 'bayāḍ' (draft copy). He further says
that he has written this story in a hurry and he is
⁵⁸
conscious of this fact and includes the words of apology
for it. It appears that he could not revise the work
finally and the short-comings remained as they were. He
has written later events first; and described the earlier
events later; for which he feels regret and is aware of
such short-comings.⁵⁹ We find that when Mirzā Shāh Hasan
Arghūn had not conquered Multān, he described his inva-
-sion of Kachh before his conquest;⁶⁰ in the same way the
siege of Thatta by the Portuguese happened in the first
year of Mirzā 'Isā's reign (963 A.H/ 1555 A.D.) is shown
⁶¹
as the last event of his rule.

Although, the author claims, "In no case
there is a difference of a year, but if there be the
difference of a month, he should not be blamed for it."⁶²

Dr. N. A. Baloch has written a compendium "Introduction" on "Tārīkh-i-Tāshirī", and he points ~~out the~~ inaccuracies of the author while describing the events. He has also given annotations, which clarify the facts vividly.

The following instances as recorded by him ⁶³ show that this is not the case :-

	As in the Text.	Correct.
1. Rule of the Sūmrās, P. 24. 700-843 A.H.		Circa 450-570 ⁶⁴ A.H.
2. Rule of the Sammās, P. 51. 849-927 A.H.		749-927 ⁶⁵ A.H.
3. Rule of the Arghūns, P. 90. 41 years.		35 ⁶⁶ years.
4. Rule of the Tārkhāns, P. 90. 53 years.		38 ⁶⁷ years.
5. Rule of the Jām P. 56. 72 years.		48 ⁶⁸ years.
Mizām'ul-Dīn.		
6. Rule of the Mirzā P. 95. 41 years.		34 ⁶⁹ years.
Shāh Hasan.		

The author could not record his nearer events correctly, e.g. Mirzā Jān Bābā's meeting with Mirzā Mchammad Bāqī is ⁷⁰ 986 A.H / 1578 A.D instead of ⁷¹ 976 A.H./1568 A.D which seems more correct. Khān-i-Khānān's attack in Sind is recorded in 1009 - ⁷² 1010 A.H/1600-1601 A.D instead of ⁷³ 999 A.H/1590 A.D.

We are told by the author in his introduction that his work is divided into 'ten ⁷⁴ tabās' (Literally: ⁷⁵ stages) or Chapters, but they are not beyond the fifth :-

Tabās First, P. 32	_____	The Sūmrās.
Tabās Second, P. 51	_____	The Sammās.

Tabaqe Third, P. 63	Mirzā Shāh Ḥasan.
Tabaqe Fourth, P. 95	Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān.
Tabaqe Fifth, P. 210	Mirzā Ghazī Beg.

76

According to Sayyid Tāhir Moḥammad, ^{no} one in the Past had written the history of the Sumrās and Sammās. If any one might have written in some indigenous Language (Hindi), he has no information about this. Some of the books both in prose and poetry have been composed, but no detailed account is available on this theme, so that one could get the needed information from it and profit by it! For this reason he depended on hearsay reports, folk tradition and some eye witness description.

Had Sayyid Tāhir Moḥammad taken his work seriously and could have revised it by comparing with the Fath-Nāma (Chach Nāma) translated by 'Alī Kūfī in 613 A.H./1216 A.D., "Tārikh-i-Sind", i.e. "Tārikh-i-Ma'sūmi" by about 1009 A.H./1600 A.D. of Mir Ma'sūm, and "Beglār Nāma", by Idrākī Beglārī in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. he could not have made errors in describing events, as well as his work would have become more authentic.

He is confident that whatever he has recorded is heard from ~~more~~ than one Person. About the various events of the Arghūn and Tarkhān Periods, he writes:-

77

"Whatever this humble servant has recorded so far or is going to record, God be the witness, it is on the basis of having heard it repeatedly. Certainly, unless Nisyanī (the author) hears something being said again and

again he does not believe it. Whatever has been recorded in this history, has been thoroughly verified from the friends, members and descendants of these People (the Tarkhāns). For any discrepancies in the statements, the reporters distorting the truth are responsible. The position of this writer with reference to this (Arghūn-Tarkhān) line is that his grand-father, father and he himself having served the two noble dynasties- the Arghūn and the Tarkhāns- for three generations and having lived for their lines with them, came to have the knowledge of all facts in details. It is on this basis that the author has ventured to compile this work. The readers are also requested that if they have a new idea or a better idea than this writer they should kindly subscribe it. The above statement is based on facts so far the Tarkhān dynasty is concerned, but it cannot be recognized true about the Arghūn dynasty. For, the author has relied on the popular historical tradition, and hearsay reports. But the meeting of Hūmāyūn with his maternal grand-father Jam 'Umar Shah', the chief of Darbela, is authentic one.

78

Dr. H. A. Baloch, writes in his "Introduction":-
"Regarding the Tarkhān dynasty, Mir Tahir Muhammad's information is based upon contemporary eye-witness accounts of his reporters and his own personal observations and experiences. This is his main contribution and covers nearly two-third of this work. The Tarkhān Period of 55 years is divided into two parts; the first 38 years (962-1000 A.H A.H/1554-1591 A.D.), of independent rule

and the last 21 years when Mirzā Jāni Beg and his son Mirzā Ghāzi Beg held the division of Thatta (Consisting of the four Sub-Divisions) (Sarkārs) of Thatta; Chāchkān, NaarPūr, and Chaker Hālā) as Jāgirdārs of the central Mughal Government under 'Akbar and Jahāngir'.

We find that Mir Muḥammad Ma'qūm has recorded the events of first 30 years chronologically and they are more compatibly stated, than Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad's work. "Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri", records local and internal events in detail. But "Tārīkh-i-Ma'qūmi has given the accounts in a broader context of Delhi.

We know that Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad was the true follower of Islām and he was modest, sincere and religious man. He was a man of forbearance and he performed his duties in adverse circumstances too. He studied Persian Poetry and became a poet under the "Pen-de-Plume" of "Nisayāni".

2.
EXTRACTS.

81
THE DESTRUCTION OF ALOR.

From the year of the Hijri 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (1439 A.D.), that is to say, for a period of 143 years,

2. These extracts have been taken from Elliot & Dowson's book, "Historians of Sind", Vol:II, from P. 3 to 10.

the Hindū tribe of Sūmrā were the rulers of Sind, and that portion which is now flourishing was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Punjāb river which is known by the above name below Bhakhar. No water flowed towards those regions and water is the very foundation of all Prosperity. The capital of this People was the city of Muḥammad Tūr, which is now depopulated and is included in the Pargana of Jirak. Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment. Numbers of the natives of that city, after its destruction, settled in the Pargana of Sakura, which was peopled in the time of the Jāms of Samrā, and there they founded a village to which they also gave the name of Muḥammad Tūr. In this village resided many great men and Zamindars disciples of Shaykh of Shaykhs and the defender of the world, Makhdūm Shaykh Bahā-'ul-Din (Zakariyā) Mullā Khālifa Sindhi, so well known in Hind, who sprang from them and that village.

The cause of the ruin of the above named city, and of its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows :- Below the town of Alor flowed the river of the Punjāb, which was indefinitely called by the three names of Hakra, Wahind, and Dahan, and by others—for its name changes at every village by which it flows. After fertilizing the land, the river pours its waters into the ocean.

Dalū Rāi governed the country between the two above mentioned cities (Muḥammad Tūr and 'Alor). He was a tyrant and an adulterer: every night he possessed himself of a maiden. From the merchants who brought their goods that way in boats from Hind to the Port of Dewal, he levied a toll of half their property; traders thus suffered incalculable injury. At length, a certain merchant reached the place with a vast amount of goods and was much astonished at this tyrant's proceedings. When the custom Officers perceived the valuable nature of his merchandise, and found him to be a traveller from distant parts, they resolved to exceed their usual demands. The merchant had also with him a handmaiden, young, and beautiful as the full-moon. When the impious tyrant was informed of this, he determined, according to his odious habit, to get her into his possession. The traveller, who was a wise and God-fearing man- said to himself that it was impossible to escape from the tyrant with honour and without distress, and hence it would be better to make some bold effort; in which, by God's help, he might succeed, and which would stand recorded on the page of destiny until the day of judgment. He prayed for and obtained three day's grace to forward the amount of duties along with his beautiful damsel.

During this time he collected a number of skilful and expert artizans men who excelled Farhād in piercing mountains, and could close a breach with a rampart like Alexander's. To these men he gave whatever they desired, and rewarded their labour with gold, jewels, and stuffs. His intention was to erect a strong embankment

above the town of Alor, and turn the course of the waters towards Bhakhar. Night after night these strong and able workmen laboured to dig a new channel and erect ~~and~~ an embankment. The river was thus turned from its old course and flowed towards Siwan and the Lakki Hills, with such force that the merchant was, by God's mercy, quickly carried with his ships and goods far away beyond the oppressor's reach. When the People of the tyrant's country awoke in the morning instead of several fathoms of water, they found nothing but mud and muddy water. All were amazed, and informed their master of the mode of ~~the~~ merchant's escape, and of the ruin that had come on the country. He ordered them to turn the river into its old channel, but they all replied that it could not be done now that the water had flowed elsewhere. The Rājā's regret and representation were all too late. "When the evil is done, oh fool! What avails your regret? Stuff not cotton in your ears, but be alert—sleep not at the hour of action".

In short the scarcity of water soon caused the grass and the fields to wither, and death laid its grasp on men and cattle, but the tyrant paused not in his evil career, until his crimes destroyed both himself and his People.

82

DESTRUCTION OF BRAHMANĀRĀD.

It is related by old historians that this Dalū Rājā had a brother called Chhats 'Amrāni, whom it had pleased God to dispose from his youth upwards, to virtue. 'Amrāni often remonstrated with his brother against his evil ways,

but without success; he, therefore, left his country and applied himself to the study of the Qur'ān. When, having learned the holy book by heart, he returned to his home, friends urged him much to marry, but he was displeased with their wicked ways, and therefore refused. His relatives repudiated and derided him, exclaiming that he had turned Turk, that is to say, **Muṣalman**, and would next be going to Mecca to marry the daughter of some great man there.

'Amrānī's star was in the ascendant, and his heart inclined to God, so their taunts took effect on him, and he resolved to proceed to the Ka'ba. When he reached the place of his destination, he beheld a woman standing with a loaf in her hand. After he had looked at her several times the maiden perceived him and asked him what he sought in that town. He replied that by her means, he hoped to be able to read the Qur'ān. She told him that the daughter of a certain venerable man was much better acquainted than herself with the Holy book, and was in the habit of teaching many young girls, and that if he changed his dress and attended upon her with the girls, he might obtain the wish of his heart. 'Amrānī answered that all would be accomplished through her kindness. He made her a small present, and joined the scholars. After a time he became perfect in the Qur'ān, when, one day, a woman came to see the teacher, who ^{was} also skilled in astrology. The visitor said: "I have a young daughter whom I wish to marry to a certain person; pray see if the match will prove a happy one, for if not, I will wed my daughter elsewhere".

The fates were consulted, a favourable answer was returned and the woman departed. Chhata, who, in women's disguise, had been taught by the fair sage, without her knowing his sex, now said that, as she could ascertain other people's destiny, he begged she would also consult the stars on her own account, and find out who should be her husband. "This enquiry?" She replied, "Will be very blessing to me; up to this moment I have never thought of what concerns myself." The fates were again consulted, and the answer which she delivered was: "A person called Chhata will come from Sind, and I shall be given into him". 'Aurāni asked if the person had as yet left Sind, and proceeded towards Mecca or not. She answered, that he had arrived in the city. "Where is he?" "In this house", was the reply, "and you are he". Chhata left off questioning and began to read.

The girl informed her mother of these events. The relatives gave their consent, and the two were united. 'Aurāni dwelt there some time, after which he returned to his own country to Pain-wah where his brother ruled. Between Chhata and his wife Fātimā, in their devotion to God, nothing was concealed, and they looked upon each other with fond affection. One day Chhata's brother sent him away on some business, with the intention of getting a look at this wife in his absence. This virtuous woman was in her bath, and there the wicked man saw her. At the same moment, Fātimā and Chhata, who was far away, became cognizant of this fact. Chhata, immediately returned, and, abandoning his relatives, left the country with his wife and proclaimed that whoever remained in the city would ignominiously perish. The very night they left, destruction hovered over the city, but was

kept off by the watching of an old widow, who was spinning. The second night they were saved by the watching of Gunigir, but on the third night, which was the time appointed for the destruction of those wicked people, the whole place was swallowed up by the earth, men, building and all, the only sign of them left was a minaret, which stands there to this day. Chhats 'Amrāni and his wife Fāṭima reached in safety the town of Siwistān, which is now known as Siwan. There he passed his days in prayer and worship. When he left this transitory dwelling-place to seek a wished for and eternal home beyond the Chambers of death, as during his life-time, he had performed miracles, and his prayers had been granted, so was it still after his decease. Whoever approached his shrine obtained the wish of his heart. His tomb is to be found in the city of Siwan; many people flock to it on Fridays, and place full belief in its powers.

83
THE DYNASTY OF SŪMRĀ.

Be it known to wise and intelligent men who can solve knotty points, that the history of this ignorant Hindū tribe has been related by old chroniclers as follows:-
"Every man of them considered himself a chief and leader, but 'Umar Sūmrā was their ruler. It is not known over how long a period his reign extended, but in all his years this chieftain, unworthy of his sacred name, practised unworthy acts. He was in the habit of laying violent hands on the females of his subjects. Among other married women

he seized a beautiful woman named Māru'ī, who belonged to the tribe of the Nārūs^{E.}, who resided near the forts of 'Umar-Kot. She had been betrothed to a person named Phog, but was, by her parents, when her beauty had developed itself, united to another of her relatives. Phog laid a complaint before 'Umar, _____ "I have given up all hope", said he, "of obtaining her, but she is well fitted for your 'harem'. If you could but once see her, you would never wish to part from her again". This speech of that dweller in the desert induced the chieftain to change his dress, and to mount an active camel, fleet as the wind, on which he repaired to the woman's residence.

He was captivated at first sight, and remained there some days. At length, finding an opportunity, he placed the woman on his own camel, and returned to the seat of his government. But all praise to the virtue and chastity of Māru'ī, for though gold and jewels, robes and apparel were offered her, and though she was made to taste of severity and anger, nothing could induce her to listen to his proposals. "In what creed," said she, "is it considered lawful that we should, for the sake of a little brief authority and worthy riches, which avail us not when all is over, put aside the duty owing to a husband, and thus at last heap infamy on our heads. The tenderness of her language took effect on the abductor; for a year he detained her and beheld her fidelity.

He then sent for her husband and returned her to him, with as much gold and jewels as he could give, and told him of his wife's chastity. Doubt, however, remained in the husband's mind; he kept aloof from her, and constantly addressed reproaches to her. 'Umar was one day informed of this conduct, of the doubts which the husband retained of Mārūi's Chastity, and the disgrace which was thus reflected on himself. An army was ordered to attack and plunder the tribe, but they fled on receipt of the news. When the fact became known, he ('Umar) said "why does the husband of this woman seek to distress her, and in suspicion of a wrong which has not been committed, why does he injure both her and his ruler, causing a personal and general scandal—instigating all this disturbance".

The Paragon of fidelity, comforted the women of her family and, strong in her own virtue, went to 'Umar and spoke as follows: "You are the lord of this country. If before this you had not conceived such designs, you would not have entailed such disgrace on yourself and on me; but, you have kept a man's wife confined for a twelve month in your own house, and after exposing her to suspicion, have sent her away. What wonder is there then that people, who know not right from wrong, should entertain doubts, and what wonder if her husband kill her through jealousy. The redress were worse than the fault itself, should you punish the oppressed family. Consider your own errors, be just, and say at whose door lies the blame". This was said with so much earnestness that it took effect.

'Umar, ashamed of his misdeeds, recalled his army, and caused the husband to be brought to his presence, when he sought by an oath, according to the Hindū custom, to remove all doubt from his mind. But that Pattern of excellence anticipated him, and urged that she was the Proper Person to take the oath, for thus the foul stain would be washed away from herself and from her whole family. So it was settled that a fire should be kindled and an iron heated therein. As soon as the fire burned and flames like lightning issued from the iron, the woman raised it, and came out pure from the trial, and in the eyes of the Hindūs all stain on her honour was removed. The thought now entered 'Umar's mind that it was not easy to clear himself of the guilt of the abduction. God is just; injustice Pleaseth him not, and never has he, nor will he ever, disgrace any but the guilty. This cruel obstinate husband, thought he, has abased me in the eyes of the world; is it not better that I should pass through the fiery ordeal and truth be brought to the light of day? He did as resolved. Glory to God who maketh truth to triumph! Not a hair of his head or a thread of his garments was singed, and he issued scathless from the raging flames _____ which consume alike friend and foe. 'Umar and the relatives of the virtuous wife, whom idle talkers had caluminated and reviled, were now raised in public opinion; the doubts, which day and night had tormented the husband, vanished, and his unkind treatment ceased.

84
THE DYNASTY OF SAMMA.

²
Old story tellers relate that when God resolved to destroy the People of Samma (who occupied the city of Muhammad Tur and its vicinity, where Ruins had followed the erection of the 'band' of Alor) so utterly that not a sign of them should be left in the land, he decreed that their lives should be Passed in the Commission of unworthy act and of crimes. Young and old became intent on violence and mischief. They belonged to the Hindū faith, yet they ate the flesh of buffalos, although eating the flesh of the cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion. The labouring classes and land holders of the Sammas also held the same belief, yet never drank wine without Partaking of a young buffalo calf. One of these animals was taken openly and forcibly by the Sammas from the house of a Samma at a time when the latter had gone out, and the wine cup Passed freely. When the owner returned, his wife taunted him with what had occurred; "To-day", Said she, "They have seized a young buffalo to roast, and to-morrow they will take away your women in the disgraceful way."

2. Elliot and Dowson: "Historians of Sind", Vol:II;

pp.14 to 27.

Either give us, your wives, freely to these men or Quite the Place". This Person was a man of rank and honour, so collecting his friends and relatives, he raised a great cry and sallied forth. A number of the People of Sūmrā were assembled at the time; he fell on this body and killed several of them, then, packing up all his valuables, he got set out for Kachh with as many of his relatives as could accompany him.

They had hardly reached the Rann, or desert, which extends from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Gūjrāt, when a powerful army of Sūmrās overtook and tried to pacify them, but the fugitives dreaded them too much to have any wish to return. Fighting commenced, and many fell on both sides. The fugitives nevertheless reached the land of Kachh, which was occupied by the tribe of Chāwars, and they settled there in the desert with their property. After a time, when they had ascertained who were the chiefs in those parts, they represented to them that they craved a portion of land to cultivate, the produce of which would suffice for their wants, and free the community from all expense on their account. A small tract of uncultivated land was given to them by the Chāwarās under the conditions that whatever grain they grew there on should be theirs, but that all the grass should be sent into the government forts, as the former suffice for them. The agree-

-ment was entered into, and the land was brought into cultivation.

It appears that finally the settlers became masters of the soil by the following stratagem. For some years after their immigration, they went on settling and cultivating the land faithfully, according to treaty. They sending the grass grown on their lands to the forts of the chiefs of this country of desert and hills. When they had got a firm footing and become thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country and the resources of its chiefs, it appears to them that, it, with one accord, they managed their affairs with discretion, they might succeed in getting the upper hand. They therefore resolved to put into execution some carefully matured stratagem for this purpose.

This was the plan that in every cart-load of hay two armed men should be concealed and sent into the fortress. Five hundred loads formed the yearly contribution. This hay was now conveyed in that number of carts; in each were concealed two armed men, and a third sat sent off together, and those who remained outside held themselves in readiness and listened for the shouts of the others. At the fort gate was *always* kept a learned astrologer, whose duty it was, from time to time to warn the guards of coming events.

As soon as the leading carts reached the entrance, the astrologer discovered, that raw meat was concealed in them and proclaimed it with loud cries. The guardians of the gate jumped up and drove their spears into the hay in such a manner that the points entered the breasts of the enterprising youths within. But, oh, the heroism they displayed! As the spears were withdrawn they wiped the bloody points with their clothes, so that not a speck blood appeared upon them; and all the day that truthful soothsayer was disbelieved no further search was made, and all the carts entered the fort. When night came on, these resolute men, both within and without the walls prepared for action as had been previously concerned. Sword in hand, those who were inside fell upon the commandant of the fort and slew him. They then beat the drums to announce their triumph. Their friends without, hearing the signal, and knowing all was right, rushed at the gate and smote every one of its defenders who had the bravery to resist them. So great was the carnage, that words cannot describe it.

Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the People of the Samwās, and their descendants are dominant there to this day. Rāi Bhars and Jām Sihta, the Rājās of both Great and little Kachh, are descended from the Samwās tribe. Among these people the tika is conferred upon the Rāi. When one of the Jāms of little Kachh dies, another is appointed in his place, but sovereignty and the tika are not

bestowed upon him until such times as the Rāj of Great Kachh dies. When a successor has been appointed he is obeyed by all, and all those who assemble to appoint the Rāj present to him horses, honorary dresses, and many other things, according to ancient custom. Whenever a well or a tank is dug in either of the divisions of Kachh, the Chawarās _____ formerly the masters of the soil, now the ryots _____ are consulted and brought to approve of the project before it is carried into execution.

85.

STRANGE CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES.

Be it known to men of enlightened minds that these people had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak. As an instance of this, a man named Dudā Sūmrā attempted to enslave his own brothers, and when any one of them resisted, sought means to kill him. Such was the prevailing stupidity of these people, that whenever they placed themselves in the barber's hands, they had the nails of their hands and feet extracted by the roots, and this violent process caused such distress, that they lost all recollection for a time. A sensible man one day enquired why they inflicted such tortures on themselves. They replied, that there was this wide difference between them and other people, that they did what others could not. The clothes which they had once worn were never again put on. To wear them a second time would have been held highly improper. A woman who had brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her

brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her husband's bed.

At length, one of them, a fond and clever wife, becoming Pregnant, resolved in her mind that, after the birth of the child, she would lose the society of her husband, and that she must therefore think of some means to convince him that child birth did not render a female impure, and to banish all such ideas from his mind. This was her Plan; whatever clothes her husband took off she gave to the washerman, with orders to wash them most carefully. One day the husband took a bath, and asked for cloths where with to dry his limbs. He was supplied with some of those which had been washed and put aside. These appeared to him so unusually soft, that he enquired what kind of fresh cloth it was. His wife told him, and he so much approved of what she had done, that he declared his intention of wearing washed clothes for the future. The wife, on hearing this, exclaimed that such also was the condition of women; why, then, should men cast them off? The husband abandoned both of these foolish Practices, and all the tribe followed his example.

All that remain of them at the Present day are good Muhammed'ans and God-fearing men; so much so, that Darwīsh Dāūd, Miyān Hamul and Miyān'Isma'il Sūmrā, who were among the chief men of the town of Akham, in the Pargana, of Samāwati, entertained five hundred students of the Qur'ān in the College, feeding and clothing them, all,

for the love of God, at their own expense. The late Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, notwithstanding his Parsimony and economy, which will be described when I speak of them, gave away, in charity, the produce of his husbandry. His collectors once complained to him, that a certain darwīsh, not content with having tilled every bit of land in the district, sought to appropriate all their lord's possession to his own use. Find therefore, said they, some other employment for the present cultivators.

The Mirzā replied: "that he should till my lands is but little, were he to drive a plough over my head, I should deem it a favour". Fakirs, widows, and the poor were the recipients of his bounty. A well-provided table was at all hours spread for his guests, _____ but he himself constantly fasted. When the hour came to break the fast, a barley-loaf, without salt, constituted his only food.

A guest coming to him one day, a sumptuous feast was ordered for him, but the guest did not partake of it. "Why", asked the Mirzā, "do you not like the food?" "I wish", replied the stranger, "to eat off the same plate with your majesty". "Oh, what happiness, exclaimed the latter. When evening came, he bid his guest to come and share with him the barley-loaf—that being all his meal. "Oh", said the man, "I thought your own meal would have been better than what you gave your guests; this was the cause of my indiscretion, but

Pray Pardon me ; I am satisfied to partake of the former rePast". The host replied, " Yes, the dainty rePast is best suited to your taste, the mere loaf is plenty for mine, for it is not light task to conquer the flesh and abjure the world_____ the world, that faithless creature, that slays her husband and devours her sons-in-law. No true man will give her a place in his heart. To do so is the act of the mean-spirited. Renounce the faithless harlot in the four extremities of the universe, and cleanse the skirt of your robe from all desire of her".

نخواهند دنیا بزرگان دین - که مردان نباشند محتاج زن
چو تپای بند زنی بیوه ای - دگر لاف مردی بخردان مزن
نخوانی مگر تو بکتاب قدیم - که از زن چه دید و صیبت و حسن
زن از نیک و بد همین لایق است - بیک پای بنشان و گردنش زن

Religious men love not the world,

For they seek not women.

If you are bound in the claims of a woman,

Boast not again of your manliness.

Have you not read in the ancient book,

What befel Hussayn and Hassan, owing to a woman?

A woman, be she good or bad, should be thus treated

Press your foot upon her neck.

DEPOPULATION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE SŪMRĀS.

When through the tyranny of Dalū Rēi, the river of the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Punjab came to be made near Siwān, and that town, which is still flourishing, became populated. The want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Sūmrā, and the tyranny of Dudā Sūmrā drove many complaining to the Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn, at Dehli. This monarch sent back with them a powerful army, under the command of the royal general named Sālār. The men of Sūmrā prepared themselves to die, and snatched off their children in charge of a ministerial, to be placed under the protection of Ibra Ibrānī. This Ibra was one of the very Sammās who had fled from the persecutions of the men of Sūmrā, and had made themselves masters of Kachh in the manner which has been related above. It is a system of these people to hold in high respect their ministerials, such as the Katriyas, the Chārans, the Doms and the Bārats. After the departure of their families, numerous engagements took place between the men of Sūmrā and the Sultān's army. Sālār Sultānī, the Sūmrā Commander, was slain in the field of battle, and the remainder sought safety in flight. The royal army advanced in pursuit of the women and children. From the capital, Muḥammad Tūr, to Kachh they proceeded march by march, digging every night a deep trench round their camp, through fear of their foes. Such was the extent of these trenches that, to this day, great pools still

remain. When they reached the confines of Kachh, Ibra Samma, the ruler of the country, fought stoutly in defence of the children and fugitives, but fell at last in the field. The women, whose countenances no stranger had ever beheld, were now surrounded on all sides. These virtuous women saw that the royal army had come to carry them into captivity, and that there was no refuge for them but in God's mercy: then, raising their hands in supplication, they exclaimed: "We have no other help, Oh God! but in thee. Cause this mountain to protect us, poor helpless creatures, and save us from the hands of our cruel enemies". The pray of these women was heard by Him, the nearest and dearest friend: the rock burst asunder, and showed openings, through which they all entered, and before the enemy could reach the spot remained without, showing where they had passed. The Pursuers were struck with awe, and retraced their steps.

The mountain, and traces (of this event) may be seen to this day, in the land of Kachh. In short, as no man was left in Sind, among the Sūmrās, of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma People set to work to cultivate new territories on another Part of the river.

THE SAMMĀS, AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE TRIBE OF SUMRĀ,

FOUND THE TOWN OF SĀMŪ²² I-ĀBĀD.

After the destruction of the Power of the above-named tribe the dynasty of the Sammā ruled from the beginning of the year 843 A.H. (1439 A.D.) until the date of the total ruin of Sind. The Sammā People, who had been subject to the Sumrās in the days of their rule, founded a town and for below the Makli mountain. The former they called Sāmū-'1, and the latter ²² Taghūrābād, of which Jām Taghrūr had laid the foundation, but had left unfinished. Other towns and villages, still flourishing, were also built by them, _____ but the spots cultivated during the dominion of the former masters of the soil soon ran to waste for want of water. Lands hitherto barren, were now carefully cultivated; there was hardly a span of ground untilled. The divisions into Sūbās and Parganās, which are maintained to the present day in the Province of Thatta, were made by these People. When the Labour and skill of each individual had brought the land to this state of Prosperity, Jām Hinda bin Bābiniya was acknowledged by all, great and small, as their chief, and received the title of Jām, which is the name of honour among these People. Such splendour spread over what had been but dreary solitudes, that it seemed as if a new world had sprung into existence.

22. (See Qāni's, *Tahfāt al-i-Kirām*; Vol: III: P. 51 and ^{Naṣūm} *Tārīkh-i-i-Sind*; P. 51.

Before his time, there was nothing worthy of being recorded, but his reign was remarkable for its justice and an increase of Mahammadanism. I have omitted none of the events which occurred in his reign and in after years, as they have been related to me by old residents of those parts. This chieftain passed his days and nights in devotion. He permitted no one man to tyrannise over another; the poor were so happy that all the day long his name was on their lips. Peace and security prevailed to such an extent, that never was this Prince called upon to ride forth to battle, ~~and never was this Prince called upon to ride forth to battle,~~ and never did a foe take the field against him. When, in the morning, he went, as was his custom, to his stables, to look his horses, he would caress them, kiss their feet, and exclaim: "Heaven forbid that an invader approach my dominions, or that it ever be my fate to saddle these animals, and engage in war! May God keep every one happy in his place!"

After he had dwelt some time in the city of Sāmū-'i, the thought entered his mind to build, at some auspicious moment, a new town, where happiness might remain for ever. Brahmins and astrologers having settled a lucky day, and having sought a spot in the neighbourhood of Sām-ū-'i, they selected an eligible place, where now stands the city of Tatta, and there, with the assent of the Jām, the foundation

was laid. A division of the land having been made, man-
-sions and houses were constructed. In truth, at such a
fortunate moment was the foundation of this Place laid,
that trouble and affliction have never visited its inha-
-bitants, contented with what they Possess, they carry
on their affairs in luxury and ease. The cheerfulness
and happiness which reigns among these People has never
yet been, nor ever will be found elsewhere. Each month has
several 'Idds for them; the first Friday after the new
moon, they call in their Sindhi Language, "Māh-Pahrē Jum'ā"
or the first Friday in each month. Such a crowd of men and
women flock, on this day, to the Makli mountain, that there
is scarce room to stand. It has become a custom, among many
classes, to consider the similar festival of Māh-pahrē
Sūmer- or the first Monday in each month___ a great day
for making pilgrimages. The Pleasure of visiting each
other, induces them to go in large parties, taking with
them abundance of sweet river water and food such as they
can afford. The day is spent in amusements, and visits to
the shrines. The reason why they take water with them is,
that the rain-water found in the tanks contiguous to the
tombs is brackish, owing to the nitrous nature of the Soil,
and consequently, though fit for oblations, is not fit to
drink.

When evening puts a close to these pleasures, they seek their own abode. Besides the shrine of the Shaykh of Shaykhs, Shaykh Thatta, there are some ten or twelve other places, where darwishes perform their dance. These excitable men often work themselves into such a state of holy ecstasy, that they cast themselves on the rocks of the mountain of Makli, but by the blessing of their learned doctors and teachers, no harm befalls them. This custom, however much opposed to the laws of 'Islām, has been transmitted from generation to generation, and all the attempts of wise teachers and just governors have never succeeded in putting a stop to it. More wonderful still, is the fact that, during the rainy months, only a few showers moisten the mountain. At its summit is a pond, which they call "Khirs", or sweet tank; so long as the water of the heavens fills it, men and women of all classes, Hindūs and Musalmāns, crowd there from morning till night; there they cook their meals, and feast. What 'idd, what wedding can ever boast of so numerous an attendance. He alone, who has seen and tasted of these pleasures, can understand this. The custom has long prevailed among these people, and what time has sanctioned they never relinquish. Other nations possess greater wealth, and greater skill; but such light-heartedness and contentment, as to labour for one day and repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Thatta alone.

ELEVATION OF DARYĀ KHĀN⁸⁹ BY JĀM NĪNDA, WHO HAD

PURCHASED HIM FROM LAKDIR.

When Jām Ninda, son of Bābiniya had to the gratification of his friends, become the occupant of the throne of Thatta, he embellished the new city and ruled with so much justice and moderation that every citizen found happiness at his own hearth :-

بهشت آنجا که آزادی نباشد - کسی را با کسی کاری نباشد

"That spot is Elysium where oppression comes not
Where no one interferes with another".

One day he went out to hunt, taking with him his minister-Lakdir. The latter had with him a young slave named Qabūla, to whom was entrusted the care of his master's drinking-water. This boy was in reality the son of a Sayyid, but having fallen into captivity, he had been purchased by the minister. The Jām, becoming thirsty during the chase, called for water. His own water-carrier not being on the spot, the minister ordered his boy to fill a cup for the King. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass. The Jām put down the cup, and asked him what grass had to do in drinking water. The slave replied: "I saw your highness was very thirsty, and I feared lest you should drink too large a quantity and suffer from it in riding; I therefore put in

the water these small obstacles, that you might drink in moderation". There was nothing so wonderful in this, but they boy's destiny befriended him, and the Jām was much pleased. He took Qabūla from the minister and made him one of his personal attendants. Day by day his affection for the youth, increased, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the Kingdom, or even to govern one, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubārak Khān and employed him in all difficult matters. He loved him better than his own children and relatives. The Jām had many good men around him, such as Wazir Dilshād, who in the year 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.) carried his victorious arms from Thatta as far as the city of Uch, yet Mubārak carried off from Thatta all of them the ball of good fortune, and was honoured by the king with the management of the affairs of the state in preference to his own son, Jām Firoz. He brought the country, from Multān, to the borders of Qandhār and from Kachh to Makrān, into such subjection, that if at midnight one of his Officers carried an order to any of the Zamindārs and Rūmiyas of these territories, it was instantly and gratefully obeyed. Such as the terror of his name in these turbulent provinces, that a pregnant woman miscarried if she heard of his approach. So far had spread the fame and dread of his incursions, that the words "Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming", were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child.

When at length, after a reign of seventy-three years, Jām Ninda Passed from this Perishable world to the abodes of immortality, he confided the care of the Kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jām Firoz, to Daryā Khān. "The management of the affairs of this kingdom", said the dying ruler, "devolves on thee. Discharge thy duty to Jām Firoz with zeal and self devotion".

90
SACK AND BURNING OF THATTA BY THE FIRING'S.

In the year 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.) near the end of his life, Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, proceeded with his son, Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī, in the direction of Bhakhar. As they drew near the town of Darbela, a dependency of Bhakhar, Mahmūd Khān, having strengthened his stronghold, sent forth his army to meet them, for, thought he, what breach of contract is this? They bring an army into my territory? What can be their object? It was the intention of Muḥammad Bāqī, to detach the Pargana of Darbela, from the province of Bhakhar, and to incorporate it in that of Siwān; but he was frustrated in this design by the army of Mahmūd Khān, which was powerful, and was everywhere prepared for fight. Blood had not yet been spilled, when, suddenly, news came from Thatta, that the Firing's had passed Lāhori Bander and attacked the city. The gates were closed, said the despatch: if the army returned without delay, the Place would be delivered: otherwise, the enemy was strong, and would effect his object.

This intelligence caused the Mirzā to desist from prosecuting the quarrel any further. Leaving the country under the rule of the Khān; he speedily embarked in his boats, and departed. Before he could arrive, the Firingis had sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jāma' Masjid of Mir Farrukh Arghūn, which they quitted, on hearing of the Mirzā's approach. The mode of the Firingis coming was as follows:— Between the town of Thatta and **Lahori Bander** is a distance of two days journey, both by land and by water; beyond this, it is another day's march to the sea.

There is a small channel (called 'Nār' in the language of Thatta), communicating with the Port; it is in some places about ten tanās wide, in others, something more. It is unfordable. Between the Port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Sone-Miyāni. Here a guard belonging to the Mir Bander, or Portmaster, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the Port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again,

(To be continued on Page 207).

instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of
Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place
where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the
look out have already enquired into the nature of the ship.
Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All
concerned in the business, now go in their boats, (ghrābs)
to the mouth of the Creek. If the ship belong to the port
it is allowed to move up and anchor under Lāhori Bandar, if
it belong to some other port, it can go no further, its
cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city.
To be brief, when these Firingi traders had got so far, and
learned that the king of the country was away on a distant
expedition, they felt that no serious obstacle could be
made to their advance. The Mir Bandar wished to enforce the
regulations, but he was plainly told by the foreigners that
they intended to proceed on to Thatta, in the small boats
(Ghrābs) in which they had come. There they would take
some relaxation, sell their goods, buy others, and then
return. The ill-provided governor, unable to resist them by
force, for their plans had been well laid, was fain to give
in; so, passing beyond the Bandar, the Firingis moved in
boats, up the river Sind towards Thatta, plundering as they
went all the habitations on the banks. The ruler of the
country being away no one had sufficient power to arrest
the progress of the invaders. They reached the city
unmolested; but here the garrison, left by the Mirzā,
defended the place with the greatest gallantry. A
spirited contest with artillery took place on the banks of
the river.

(To be continued on Page 208)

In the end the defenders were overpowered; the enemy penetrated the city, and had made themselves fully masters of it, when the Mirzā arrived in all haste. As soon as they heard of his being near, with a powerful army, they loaded their boats with as much spoil as they could contain, and withdrew.

The Mirzā, who had previously laid the foundation of a citadel for protection against the Arghūns, now deemed it necessary to encircle his Palace and the whole city, with fortifications.

His reign ended with his life in the year 984 A.H./1576 A.D. His wealth and kingdom passed into the hands of his son _____ mahammad Bāqī.

1. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad-
Wisyāni :- "Tārīkh-i-Balda-i-Thatta
alia Tārīkh-e-Tāhīrī";
("Introduction") p. 5, edited
by Dr. N.A. Baloch; S.A.B.
Hyderabad, 1964.
2. Ibid: (Persian Text); pp. 8, 165, 189.
3. Ibid, "Introduction" P. 1.
بمسکن جری پذیرمی یعنی وصیه در بیله
4. Ibid: (Persian Text); P. 21 P. 75.
دین وقت ارباب بمهر شاه داور سهته [97] وله اواز اربابان
پرکنه در بیله نه پدر کتان ماری این مولف است.
5. Qāni :- "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām"; (Sindhi
Translation); P. 518; and
("Introduction") by ^{Dr.} N.A. Baloch of "Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī";
pp. 1-2.
6. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad
Wisyāni :- Op.cit; (Introduction), P. 2.
7. Ibid; (Persian Text) P. 76.
8. Ibid, (Persian Text); P. 84.
چون حضرت بقصه الور رسیدند عمر شاه در انجا وفات یافت
و پسرانش باز بمسکن مالوف آمده و متوطن گشته اند.
9. Ibid, (Persian Text) P. 64-85.

9. Ibid; (Persian Text); pp. 84-85.

چون درین وقت عریفه محمود خان بکهری بملازمت میرزا برین مضمون رسید - که جامه عمر شاه وداوود ولد اورامبری و اخلاص گستره بلشگر حضرت خاقان دوران نموده معامله بجای رسانیده بودند. که قلع بکهریست امیران حضرت آمره از قید مابدر ~~مابدر~~ مابدر بود. معالمت آن است که تنبیه و تادیب بر انسان برایشان حکم نشود، که ادب و عبرت این و آن بود باشند. امر ماموران حاکم وقت در حق این حقیقت تنهاران بنیاد شاهان چنان صادر گردیده، که هر دو دولت خواه حکومت مارا بهر چرخ نماید، که التماس او از بعضی عتسورت ملکی پس، مستحسن افتاد. آن محمود نامرصور، که مدت مدید نشسته خون این خیر خواهان حضرت بود. مردن ایشان غنیمت پنداشته، یکی لادر جوال دوخته از برج خونی باره بکهری بریانداخت. بملازمت میرزا فرستاد - و فرزندانشان جلاوطنی گزیده مسکن و معاوی به بلده گجرات یعنی احمد آباد کردند. و همان محالیشان، که مرز بازوی جان و قوت ایمان بود، نزد والده کلان پدری فرستاد

10. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 85.

11. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 3.

12. Qāni - op.cit.; (Persian Text), Vol.III. (Nāgri-Press, Delhi), P. 209.

13. S.T. Misyan - op.cit. (Persian Text); P. 163.
جوان سپاهی بازهد و تقوی ازین قسم است که ماله الدهر و قائم الیل
می باشد

14. Ibid ("Introduction"); P. 4.

15. Ibid; (Persian Text); pp. 156-157.
از میان حسن پدر خویش نقل دارم، که در شب مرگ او [میرزا محمد باقی] چوکی بملازمت "ولاء احمد" مذکور داشتیم!..... چون نیمه شب گزشتهدم هندویان کارگر گشت. از چهار پایه بی اختیار بر جسته اول از پیر خدمت گذار که واقف نباشند، چراغ گشت.

16. Ibid; P. 163; also ("Introduction"); P. 4.

17. Ibid (Persian Text) P. 189.

18. Ibid () pp. 224-225.

19. Ibid () P. 242.

با ستعانت و امرا داین عزیزان طی طریق نموده، در هزار و سیصد و سه هجری بمجا کوسه قله داستان اعلی حضرت عرض آشنایی برار الحاق افت اگر مشرف شرد، افتخار کوفتی و مباحات مائسات حاصل داشت

20. Ibid; () P. 13.

در سنه هزار و چهارده که وفات حضرت خاقان زمان، عرشی آستان
بود، تاریخ وفاتش در وقت نصف "فوت اکبر شده" یافته.

21. Ibid; () P. 13.

22. Ibid; () P. 14.

23. Ibid; () P. 256.

24. Ibid; () P. 255.

25. Jshāngir :- "Tousuk-i-Jshāngiri"; P. 41. Aligarh, 1864.

26. S.T. Nisfāni :- Op. cit. (Persian Text); pp. 256-257.

27. Ibid; (); P. 258.

28. Ibid; (); P. 271.

29. Ibid; (); pp. 161-163.

30. Ibid; (); pp. 263-267.

31. Ibid; (); pp. 270-271.

32. Ibid; (Introduction); P. 7. (Dr. E.A. Baloch, further writes in the foot-note on P. 26; No. 47. "Shāh Qāsim Khān, the Chief of Nagaur, had already died (14 Rameḍān, 1019 A.H.) and his sons, who killed Rāi Mānik Chānd, were defeated by the deceased's son Rāi-Sing who then went back to Qandhār and rejoined Mirzā Ghāzi Beg who was still alive".

33. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 8.

34. Ibid; (); P. 23.

ویناکه مرثولف را یک مدوح است.

35. Ibid; (____); P.7.

شناخته وزارت، اعلیٰ حضرت نکتہ سنج سخندان، صاحب ری، ابرکف، آفتاب
طالع، رزم آرا، رزم افزا، مرزا شمس محمد بیگ، عادل خان.

(See also pp.20,22 and 23), and Shah Nawaz Khan :-
"Ma'athī-ru'l-'Umarī", Vol.II, p.645, Calcutta 1889.

36. S.T. Misayāni. (____); P.183. See also

Mir Ma'qūm :- "Tārīkh-i-Ma'qūmī": (Persian Text); P.254.

37. Ibid; ("Introduction"), see foot-note no 54; P.26.

38. Ibid; ("Introduction"); "foot-note No : 55, P.26.

39. Ibid; (____) P.21.

40. Ibid; (____); P.20.

41. Ibid; (____); P.20.

42. Ibid; (____); P.22.

43. Ibid; (____); P.22.

44. Ibid; (____); P.21.

بعد از مرور یک سال، یعنی در هزار و سی (۱۰۳۰) که ایشان را از
درگاه خلک اشتباه از خدمت مذکور ساقط ساخت، تعینات بلده
قدحار داشتند.

45. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P.10.

46. Ibid; ("____"); P P.10-11. (see also Shah
Nawaz Khan :- Op.Cit, Vol: II, P.645.

47. Ibid; (____) P.11. and foot-note No : 68, P.27.

48. Ibid; (____) P.20.

فقیر از ابتدای هزار بیست و یک تا هزار و سی، درین ده سال، جو بیای خواصان
این معنی بوده، که اگر کسی بات باعث برین امیر خیر گردیده، نعم خوار این
خاکسار راه گذر، اهل دین گردد، نام او و کام خود، حاصل داشته احوال این
مردم، به داد مردی دادند، بهر تشبیه اهل ادراک برقم در آورد.

49. Ibid; (____); P. 10.

اگرچه مدت مدید بخاطر، این آرزو می گذشت، که اکبر آسایش بهراد و کام دست دهد،
لنک حلالی صاحب ماضی، هم دوش مورو کامیاب قصه، پیمانه پهای شراب ظهور،
مفوت پناه، افتخار آل ارغون و ترخان میرزا غازی خان بیگ و قاری "نوده"، احوال این
جماعه زمیندار دیگر، که پیش از آن حکومت آن ملک داشتند، ترقیه کرده، خود را
زیر قدم و خاک راه دوستان سخن مسجع شمارد.

50. Ibid; (____); P. 23.

51. Ibid; (____); P. 20.

ایزد متعال این صاحب عاقل، فاضل، عادل، عامل را در دو جهان کامیاب
و کامران دارد، فرمود، که تاریخ بلده تحت تحریر که بهراد دل خواهی رسید.

52. Ibid; (____); PP. 20 - 21.

53. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 14.

54. Ibid; _____; P. P. 85-86.

55. Ibid; (____); P. 102.

میرزا مظفر ترخان، که الان در کجای کجاست از همان محل تولد یافت.

56. Ibid; _____; P. 194.

میرزا بهرام ترخان پسر اوست که الان در بندگی حضرت است.

57. Ibid; _____; P. 22.

چون بکاتب سعادت آن اقبال آثار در بلده ملتان رسید اتفاقاً شعی همین
تقریب در میان واقع گشت، ایشان برویت باز عنایت و مرحمت که صاحبان بر
بندگان صاحب ذوق دارند، فرمود، امر برین کار خیر داشتند نظم:-
نظم:- (در کار خیر حاجت هیچ استخاره نیست)

چون که می خریدار از فروشنده گی خویشتن بیش دریافت، قلم برداشته برین
راه نوشتافت، بعد از مرور مشهور و نفور چند مسوده طیار داشته بنظر کیهیا از
اشرف او گذراند. بصایت ایزدی و الطاف سرمدی پچشم آن اولی الا بصار
بین وجود عیب و عار منظور گشت

58. Ibid; _____; P. 24.

امید از اولی الا بصار، که عیب و عار بدیده بصارت دیده می پوشند،
فقیر برین راه بتجلیل تمام و برین مسیح قلم جان در تن این جماعه
آورد.

59. Ibid; _____; P. 244.

انسان پرنسیان را چه قدرت و یار تواند و واقعات چند سال مصنفان آن ولایت
از روی عیب یا کم و اوجی تحریر نداشته، روزنامه صفت بنویسد اگر چه چه موجب ملاحظه
درین واقعات تقدیم و تاخیر کم داشته اما اگر امانا شده باشد معذور دانند

60. Ibid; _____ (Annotation); Note (66-67), P. 315.
61. Ibid; _____ (Annotation); Note (111: 10-114: 9) P. 325.
62. Ibid; _____; P. 244.
63. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 15.
64. Ibid; (Annotation), Note (24: 18-20), PP. 283-287.
65. Ibid; _____ Note (51: 6-70) PP. 302-305.
66. Ibid; _____ (90: 2) P. 321.
67. Ibid; _____ (90: 3-4), P. 321.
68. Ibid; _____ (56: 10), P. 310.
69. Ibid; _____ (95: 3), P. 322.
70. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 125.
71. Ibid; (Annotations), Note (125: 14), P. 330.
72. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 176.
73. Ibid; (Annotations); Note (176: 19 & 171: 2), P. 333.
74. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 24.
75. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 16.

76. Ibid; (Persian Text); P. 12.

آنگاه در عهد آن کسی احوال این ملک نوشته باشند، بخط هنری خواهد بود، که مشهور نیست، بعد از آنکه قوت حکومت مغل اربعون رسید، از منقوریه منظوم مثل پیشتر تر پیدا شد این مومر کسی تاریخ سندی، بتفصیل و تفسیر نوشت، که نوری آن بعضی خبر ضروری انتخاب و اکستاب نموده، احوال ایشان تحریر و ترجمان نماید، اگر کسی بخط هنری نوشته باشد معلوم نیست.

77. Ibid; ("Introduction") P. 19. and Persian Text; pp. 100-101.
78. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 22.
79. Ibid; ("Persian Text"); P. 20-23.
80. Qānī: - "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā", pp. 376-377.
81. S.T. Nisayāni: - Op. Cit; (Persian Text); from pp. 24 to 27.

82. Ibid; _____ from p.p.27 to 31.
83. Ibid; (Persian Text); pp.32 to 35.
84. Ibid; (" ") from pp 41 to 45.
85. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 45 to 48.
86. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 48 to 50.
87. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 51 to 52.
88. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 52 to 54.
89. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 54 to 56.
90. Ibid; (" ") from pp. 111 to 114.

SAYYID MIR MUHAMMAD BIN SAYYID JALĀL TATTAWI.

Nothing is known about the life of Sayyid Mir Muhammad. But he belonged to the well-known 'Anjvi' family of ¹Shirāz. His grand-father Sayyid Muhammad, known as Mirān Muhammad left his native place due to some unavoidable circumstances in the eighth century of Hijra and came to Sind with his son Sayyid Ahmad and settled at a village called Sayyidpur.² This was the period of Jām Salāh-ud-Din Samma (d. 806 A.H/1403 A.D.). Sayyid Husām-ud-Din Rāshidi has written the following Genealogical table of Sayyid Ahmad:³

Sayyid Ahmad born in Shirāz in 757 A.H/1356 A.D. bin Sayyid Muhammad-ud-Din Husayni 'Anjvi' (d. 800 A.H/1397 A.D.) bin Sayyid Mahmūd (d. 752 A.H/1351 A.D. buried in Shirāz) bin Sayyid Muhammad (d. 714 A.H/1314 A.D. buried in Shirāz) bin Shāh Mahmūd (d. 964 A.H/1556 A.D. buried in Shirāz) bin Sayyid Ibrāhim (d. 645 A.H/1247 A.D. buried in Shirāz). bin Sayyid Qāsim (d. 620 A.H./ 1223 A.D. buried in Shirāz). bin Sayyid Zayd (d. 609 A.H./ 1212 A.D. buried in Shirāz Mecca) bin Sayyid Jā'fer (d. 595 A.H/1198 A.D. buried in Mecca) bin Shāh Hamza (d. 549 A.H/1154 A.D. buried in Karbala) bin Shāh Hārūn (d. 532 A.H/1137 A.D. buried in Karbala) bin Sayyid 'Aqil Thāni (d. 412 A.H/1021 A.D. buried in Karbala) bin Sayyid Jā'fer Burhānallāh (d. 492 A.H/1098 A.D. buried in Samirah) bin Sayyid 'Isma'īl (d. 439 A.H/1047 A.D. buried in Samirah).

After the death of Sayyid Muḥammad, his son Sayyid Aḥmad reached in Thatta and settled down here. He was married with the daughter of Qādī Miḥmat-ʿAllāh ʿAbbāsī; a learned man of his time. Then the off-springs of Sayyid Aḥmad remained in Sind for the centuries.

"TARKHĀN NĀMA"

(1063 A.H./ 1654 A.D) .

(History of Sind, during Arghūn and Tarkhān Period).

When this history was compiled, Arghūn had totally lost their sovereignty and after the death of Mirzā ʿIsā (II) Tarkhān (d. 1062 A.H/ 1651 A.D.), only Mirzā Muḥammad Sālch and some of his family members had remained in Sind. Mirzā Sālch had no interest in the affairs of Sind then. So he ordered Sayyid Mir Muḥammad for the compilation of this book. The author ⁶ says that he tried his level best to find out a book on this subject, but all in vain. Hence he himself compiled this book on the desire of Mirzā Muḥammad Sālch.

Sayyid Mir Muḥammad ⁷ Says that he has gained advantage from the following books, while compiling "Tarkhān Nāma".

1. Raudt-'ul-Sāffā; (Mir Khwānd) .
2. Zafar Nāma'-i-Timūri; (Sharf-ul-Din ʿAlī Yazdī).
3. Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī; (Bayezid Bayātī) .
4. Akbar Nāma; (Abūl Faḍl ʿAllāmī) .
5. Nigristan; (Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Ghaffarī) .

6. Tārikh-i-Tāhiri ; (1030 A.H./1620 A.D.) (Sayyid Tāhir Muḥammad Ḥisayānī Tattawī).
7. Muntkhib-be-Badl Yūsūfī ; (for Muntkhib'ul-Tāwērikh : (Muḥammad Yūsūf bin Shaykh Rahmatullāh ; 1056 A.H/ 1646 A.D.) .
8. Tārikh-i-Guzida ; (Ḥamādullāh Mustaufī) .
9. Majma'ul-Anṣāb ; 743 A.H./1342 A.D. (Muḥammad bin Ali bin Muḥammad of Shabānkārāh) .

The "Tārkhān Nāma" contains the first two chapters about a genealogical tree from Ḥadrat Nūḥ to Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ. The author has taken this account from Tārikh-i-Tāhiri, Rauḍat-ul-Ṣaffā, Zafar Nāma and Tārikh-i-Guzida. In the same way the author has related the events word by word of Tārkhān rule from Qandhār to Sind of Mir Mawṣūm's work "Tārikh-i-Sind"; but he has not mentioned it any where in Tārkhān Nāma. The account of Mirzā Ghāzī Beg (d. 1021 A.H/ 1612 A.D.), his beginning and end has been obtained from, 'Tārikh-i-Tāhiri'. He has not related any more events other than "Tārikh-i-Maṣṣūmī" or 'Tārikh-i-Tāhiri'. We know that the author was the contemporary of Mirzā 'Isā-(II) and he composed Tārkhān Nāma on the will of Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ, so he should have searched out more account. Not only this but he has not thrown any light on the Life of Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ. One who has read 'Tārikh-i-Maṣṣūmī', Tārikh-i-Tāhiri and 'Baglār Nāma' cannot gain anything more from Tārkhān-Nāma, for it does not extend any account other than these works.

8

SOME HISTORICAL ERRORS :-

1. 'Abd-ul 'Alī Tarkhān died on 9th Rajab, 1040 A.H./1630 A.D. and it is inscribed on his grave at Makli graveyard. But the author has described his date of death wrongly as 1039 A.H./1629.
2. Mirzā Qhasī Beg died in 1021 A.H./1612 A.D. as related by Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī and Dhakhīrāt-ul Khawānīn, but the author writes it incorrectly as 1020 A.H./1611 A.D.
3. Mirzā Jānī Beg died 17th Rajab, 1009 A.H./1600 A.D. and it is inscribed on the arch of his tomb; but the author has written 1011 A.H./1602 A.D. which is incorrect.
4. Mirzā Jānī Bābā was the father of Mirzā 'Isā-II and the grand-father of Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣāleh. He is buried in Makli grave-yard and it is inscribed on his grave that he was assassinated by Mirzā Bēgī in 978 A.H./1570 A.D., but we find in 'Tarkhān Nāma' that he died in 979 A.H./1571 A.D.
5. Mirzā 'Isā-I died in 973 A.H./1565 A.D., and the epitaph is still there on his grave; but the author taking into consideration 'Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī' related incorrectly as 974 A.H./1566 A.D.

6. The king, Hūmāyūn Shāh, was defeated by Sher Shāh and arrived in Sind on 28th Ramaḍān, 947 A.H. / 1540 A.D. The author writes incorrectly 949 A.H. / 1542 A.D.

7. Mirzā 'Isā-II died in Muharram 1062 A.H./1651 A.D. but the author writes 1061 A.H./1650 A.D. which is incorrect.

The author does not mention the date of compilation of 'Tarīkhān Nās'. But it is presumed that it was composed in 1065⁹ A.H. or in the beginning of 1066 A.H. / 1654-55 A.D.

1. Sayyid Mir Muhammad - "Tarkhān Nāma" "Introduction";
P.29. Edited by Sayyid Husām al-Dīn Rāghidī; S.A.B.
Hyderabad, 1965.

2. Ibid; _____ P.29.

3. Ibid; _____ PP.29-30.

4. For details See "Introduction" of "Tarkhān Nāma", P.30
to 45.

5. Sayyid Mir Muhammad; Op.Cit (Persian Text); P.3.

بنابر شفقت و مهربانی طریقه سلوک آباء و اجداد کرام که باین سلسله فقر دارند،
مبذول فرمود... بنا بر این اول العباد ستید محمد بن میر جلال الدین حسینی شیرازی،
نام نگارنده فرمود که کتاب "ترخان نامه" را ارسال نماید!

6. Ibid; _____ PP. 3-4.

هر چند این خادم فقرا تفحص و تجسس نمود، در بلاد سند کتاب مذکور پیدا
نشد، هیچ کس از آن نشان نداد.

7. Ibid; _____; P.4.

8. Ibid; _____; "Introduction"; PP.24-25-26.

9. Ibid; _____; P.27.

SAYYID KAMĀL-'UL-DIN AHMAD KHĀN.

Sayyid Kamāl-'ul-Din Ahmad Khān b. Sayyid 'Ināyat-'Ullāh was a Poet and Prose writer in Persian. He was the son-in-law of Mir Munshi Fā'il Khān. He composed two books in Persian Prose.

1. 'Istelāḥāt-i-Ridviya.

2. Shraḥ-i-Divān Hāfiḡ.

He died in 1132 A.H./1719 A.D.

Mir Muḥammad Shafi' - "Himmat" b. Sayyid Yār Muḥammad Bhakheri remained the governor of Thatta from 1125 A.H./1713 A.D. to 1127 A.H./1715 A.D. He was a Poet and his Takhalluḡ was "Himmat". He was confirmed the titles Lutf 'Alī Khān and Shujā'at 'Alī Khān by the Delhi Sultānate during his Period of Šobedāri (Governorship). He died in 1144 A.H./1731 A.D.

He composed a book "Tilism-i-Ša'ādāt in Persian for his two sons Ghadāfar 'Alī and Dh-'ul-Fiqār 'Alī. The manuscript copy of this book is in Sindhi Adabi Board's Library, but it is incomplete. This book had a Muqaddamma (introduction), twelve chapters and a conclusion. But this manuscript copy contains first chapter and only four pages of Second Chapter. The theme of the book is on ethics. In Muqaddamma (Introduction) he writes :-

- سبب تالیف این است که رنگ و روی بهار خوشدلی نور چشمه غضنفر علی و گمراهی
فرزند سعادت مند ازلی ذوالفقار علی که اولین پیاپی مرحله نهم دارد، و دومین
به پنجم - بکمال آرزو خواستند که رساله بزبان فارسی که نقد البدل باری
تواند شد، بتحریر آورم تاگزیر نظریه پیاپی خاطر این دو عزیز، کلیتره چند
از بیان قلم گل کرده بر صفی کاغذ می کشم .

9
The Contents of the book are :-

باب اول: در اخلاق و عبادت و علوی رتبه انبیاء و اولیاء
فصل اول: در عالی فطرت و فراغ مشربی و تشکیباتی انبیاء و اوصیاء در مقام
ابتلا، و واسپردن خود را در رضا
فصل دوم: در محبت خیرالانبیاء و آل آن برگزیده امضیا و شفاء روز جزا و قرب
کمال ایشان در بارگاه خدا، عزاسمه جل قدره.
فصل سوم: در صبر و شکر و معراج خیرالانبیاء و اجر محبت آن زبده امضیا و جزاء اعداء
این گروه پسندیده خدا جل شاناه و پیوستی مرتبه دنیا و عدم جمع آن
با آخرت (حکایت قصه بلوهر حکیم و بوز اسف پادشاهزاده)
باب دوم: در توکل و تجرد انبیاء و اوصیاء و درویشان تجرد متبع پیروان
مقصد مست برد و فضول

فصل اول: (۶)

باب سوم: در انزوای سرمایه داشت و آگاهی
باب چهارم: در آداب صحبت و فوائد سیاهی
باب پنجم: در لطف مخوفشی و آگاهی از مراتب درویشی
باب ششم: در ضوابط دستور پادشاهی و سیرت پادشاهان
باب هفتم: در عفو و عدم انتقام و طرد معاش و راه منشأ در جوش بهار عشق جوانی
باب هشتم: در پیری و تجربه کاری و کمالات انسانی
باب نهم: در ترک دنیا و تحریک از ماسوا و وحشت از بیگانه و آشیانه
باب دهم: در احترام سادات عالی درجات و محبت عرفاء و علماء راه نما
باب دوازدهم: در لایزال شناسی آداب معاشی با ذرات کائنات و پاسداری انفس و ایل و چهار
در تحصیل مراتب یقینی

فصل دوم: (۶)

خاتمه (۶)

1. Qānī' :-

"Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā"; P. 691 (The original name of Fādil Khān was 'Uthmān. He was Sameja by Cast. "Fādil Khān" was the title bestowed upon him by Ālamgīr 'Aurangzeb on account of his career as he used to write epistles). See Qānī' :- "Makli Nāmā"; P. 631, Annotations by Sayyid Husām-'ul-Dīn Rāshidī).

2. Op.Cit. p. 691.

3. Op.Cit. p. 691.

4. Qānī' :-

"Makli Nāmā"; P. 633 (Annotations).

5. Qānī' :-

"Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā"; P. 873.

6. Qānī' :-

"Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā"; P. 874.

7. Qānī' :-

"Makli Nāmā"; P. 634 (Annotations).

8. Op.Cit. p. 634.

9. Op.Cit. pp. 634-635-636.

MIR 'Abul Qāsim 'Namkīn.

The name of his father was Mullā Mir Sabzwārī belonging to the village Patchik in North Herāt. His pedigree is Hussayn² Harvī. The account of Mir 'Abul Qāsim's early life is not traceable but he served in the court of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm 961 A.H./ 7th December, 1553 A.D./ 16th Shu'abān 993 A.H./ 16th July 1585 A.D. After that he came in the court of 'Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor. Once Mir 'Abul Qāsim presented a small dish and a goblet made of salt. On this Akbar bestowed a title of "Namkīn"⁴ upon him.

Mir Namkīn remained in Sehwan, Jalālābād and Qandhār respectively. In his last days he was at Qandhār and when he was returning ~~back~~ from there, he died on the way in 1018 A.H./ 16 April 1609 A.D. This fragment inside the stone on his grave shows the date of his death.

گر بود بستر از حیر چه سود،
چون در مرگ زیر بالش خشت
خلف خیز اوز "داغ ابی" ۱۰۱۸ هـ
چونکه تاریخ سال فوت نوشت،
گفت ملهم مرا بگوشت منیر،
سال فوتش که "بارجاسته بهشت" ۱۰۱۸ هـ

Mir Namkīn had six sons⁶:

1. Mir 'Abul-Baqā 'Ameer Khān,
2. Mirzā Kaghmerī,
3. Mir Ḥusām-ul-Din,
4. Mirzā Yaḥyā,
5. Mirzā Yūsuf,
6. Mirzā Luḥfūllāh,

HIS WORKS :-

According to "Tārikh-i-Mazhar-i-Shāh Jahānī":
Mir Namkīn was a learned man, and a great Patronizer of
learned men. He used to Patronize the scholars and bestowed on
them daily allowances.⁷

و بهر دم علماء و فضلاء دوست می داشت، چنانچه روش مرد معاش دین ملک او پیدا
کثر، اکثر اهل علم و اهل فضل این دیار را در دور حضرت عرش آشیانی
از طرف خود روزیانه کرده، و بار بار به همراه خود برداشته خدمت
معرفت پناه میران صدر جهان رسیده تجویز هر کدامی را فراخوردانش
او فرموده، فرامین درست کنانیده حزبی راه داده به سهوان
مرحض نمود.

Mir Namkīn Passed his leisure time with scholars and
learned men. There were gatherings of Scholars at a Place
called "Ṣafa-i-Ṣafa" in Bhakhar.⁸

در شبهای ایام بیض اکثر در آنجا می گذرانید و با اهل فضل مجلس داشتند

When he went to the Sehwan he built the same Place there
named "Ṣafa-i-Wafa". He used to associate with the Scholars
of that time there.⁹

و بر بالای این کوه نیز پرغلام مثل صفه بکری، صفه ساخته و "صفه وفا"
نام نهاده و در شبهای ایام بیض اکثر آنجا می گذرانید و خیریه های موضح
نار را با مردم علماء و فضلاء و سپاه بزم میداشتند، و تا حال که -
سنه ۱۰۴۴ هجری لغز و چهل و چهار است، آن صفه برجاست.

Although we do not know about the early education and learn-
-ing of Mir Namkīn but he had command over the diction and
was an expert in Prose and Poetry. Shaykh Farid Bakhari was
his student in (letter writting) elegance of composition
and Poetry.¹¹

Sayyid Husam-'ul-Din Rāghidī has given a detailed information of Mir Hamkin's book, "Munghs't-'ul Hamkin" in ¹² *Tadhkira-i-'Ameer Khāni*. The book was composed in 23rd *Shu'abān* 1006 A.H. i.e. 44th 'Akbari year (31st March 1598 A.D.). The book contains eight chapters and the ¹³ conclusion. It has been copied by "Ibn-i-Muriya" 'Uthmān in 14th Jamādī 'ul-'Awwal 1012 A.H./ 20th October 1603 A.D.

Following are the contents of the book:-

- 1 در ابتدای صفت کتابت و ذکر ابتدای مکاتیب با سماء الله تعالی (دو فصل)
- 2 در ترقیم فرامین و مناشیر سلاطین عدالت آئین و اجوبه لطائف تزیینی
- 3 آنحضرت (پانزده فصل)
- 3 در تحریر ادعیه و مفاتیح و آئینه فردیه و محائف و مکاتیب (سیزده فصل)
- 4 در ترمیم عزلت (سوالیه و جوابیه) (دو فصل)
- 5 در تفسیر محائف مرشد و مسترشدین، ووالین، و اساتید، و اخوة و اخوات و اولاد، و درگاه مری و شکایت از عدم مراسم و مایه خلق بها (سه فصل)
- 6 در تفتیق محائف تیانی و تعازی (دو فصل)
- 7 در تصدیق قبالات و تمسکات و نکاح و طریق بستن نکاح و سبجات شرعی و غیر آن (دو فصل)
- 8 در بیان ارتسام محائف قبل الملاقات و بعدیه و مطایبات مضحکه و متفرقات (سه فصل)
- خاتمه:-
- در تفتیق مسائل بنای مسلمانی و سبب وجوب نماز و نیت آن و آداب و قرأت آن و کیفیت نماز عیدین و خطبات جمع و عیدین و نماز و استسقا و خطبه و ادعیه کسوف و خسوف، الخ.

زیباترین نگاری که مستفادان فصاحت حال چهره صمیمی سخن گوید
و خوب ترین لفظی که مترسلان بلاغت انشای زیب رخسار مجموع
انشا کنند الخ

Sayyid Husam-'ul-Din Rāghidī, in his book, "Tadhkira" ¹⁴

- 'Amār Khān states that his friend, Dr. H.A. Baloch showed him a note book in which Miya Ghulām 'Alī "Maddah" ¹⁵ has

taken few lines of composition from Mir Hamkin's works and they are replete with precepts and worth to be read -

نقل مسوده نواب غفران پناه سيادت ماب مير ابو القاسم تليكن ملوثة الله عليه اعظم
اسماء عليهم عليهم، بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - بود خدا الذي لا یفقر الا هو - والصلوة والسلام
على نبیة الذي لا نبی بعد - ای فرزند عزیز! از جاصلان پریشان روزگار، و از ابلیهان نادان -
برگزار، اجتناب باید نمود، که آشنائی و صحبت با ایشان همچون زهر قاتل است، خانه دگر
را بتر و تاریک سازد و چراغ عقل را بی نور - فرد،

هم نشین تو، از توبه باید

تا ترا محفل دانش افزاید

و هم نشین اهل علم و ارباب دانش و صلاح باید بود، و بسبب کمال باید کوشید - فرد

کسب کمال کن که عزیزی بجهان شوی

کسی بی کمال هیچ نیزد عزیز من

و ترک تن پرستی و کاهلی نموده امر و معروف و نهی و منکر بجا باید آورد و از اوقات
گذشته مباح کرده نمود متاسف و متعطف و پشیمان بوده، توبه و تضرع باید کرد، که "النائب
من الذنب کن لا ذنب له" و از سر انصاف تامل باید کرد که از آمدن برین عالم
مقصود چیست که، "وما خلقت الجن والانس الا ليعبدون"، ای یعرفون، و از کجا آمده
شده و باز بجا رفتی، و بکار افتاد نیست و نیز به باید دانست که حکومت کار عظیم
و خطرست و دارم غلوهان دایره بزرگستان ترجم باید کرد که "کلکم راع و کلکم مسئول
عن رعیتة" و بفقره و مساکین نموده حله رحم و حق همسایه را نگاه باید داشت
و حتی الامکان در ضلای و ملا و صحبت و ملائمت از ذکر خیرای حل و علائم اخل و و اهل
نباید بود، "افحسبتم انما خلقناكم عبثا و انکم الینا لا ترجعون؟" - فرد

نقد عری که نداری بپوش معروف مان

چون بپوشدای نگاری که ندارد بدی

و هم نشین مرگ را در پیش نظر باید دانست، چرا که یعنی که غدار ناپائیدار آدمی
و است که لا حول و لا قوه الا بالله العلیّ العظیم و شیطان یعنی بوسه بر آید بدی بدی پس بالضرور
خود را باید گذشت که از شر آن مضطرب (9) ثابت مانده بکار آخرت توان پروا داشت
که آن ذکر بوده و امر حضور قلب است - فرد

امروز روز فرصت، فردا است روز غوغا،

عاقبت کسی که سازد امروز کار فردا،

والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی،

Yūsuf MIRAK BIN MIR 'AB-UL QASIM NAMKIN BHAKHARI

Yūsuf Mirak composed a history, "Ṭarikh-i-Maghhar-e-Shāh Jahānī". The early life, his education and the date of birth is not known, as there is no account about the author except his history. We find that the author has passed most of the time with his father and the first information about him shows that when his father was the governor of Bājwar fort in 1016 A.H / 28th April, 1607 A.D., he was there. In the same year when Sehwan became under the governorship of Mir Namkin and Sardār Khān was transferred; Yūsuf Mirak came from Bājwar to Sehwan in order to keep discipline and administration.¹⁶

باز تغیر سردار خان ملک سہوان را در جاگیر پیر غلام مرصت کردند.
و در آن وقت تھانہ پاجور حوالہ او بود، و از آنجا ایق خانہ زاد راقہ صروف
را پیشتر با جمیعت خوب بسہوان فرستاد، و متعاقب خود پیر رسید آمد،
و ملک ویران برہم خوردہ را دیدہ باز پی دلاسا رعیت پرریختہ
شدہ ملک را فراہم آورد.

Yūsuf Mirak remained in Sehwan from 1016 A.H / 1607 A.D. to 1023 A.H. / 11th February 1614 A.D. He secretary¹⁷ to Shamsheer Khān, the governor of Sehwan. When Shamsheer Khān left for the expedition to Qandhār, he made Qamber Khawāsā as his assistant. After the death of Qamber Khawāsā, Khusham-Beg was sent to Sehwan, Shamsheer Khān being his assistant. Yūsuf Mirak co-operated with them and helped them in their administrative job.¹⁸

Ahmed Beg, Ibrahim Khān b. 'Itmād-ul-Dawla was appointed as a governor of Sehwan in 1037 A.H/ 12th September 1627 A.D. The beginning of his rule was laudable and all the people were happy and contented with his justice, peace and tranquility. But when he became aware of the people and the country, he consigned all the affairs of Sehwan to his brother Mirza Muhammad Yūṣuf and he used to spend his time in a Seraglio. Muhammad Yūṣuf was cruel, contemptible and a man of ignoble disposition. Hajjāj b. Yūṣuf would have been scarcely his student.

”مرزا یوسف نام برادر همراه داشت که یوسف حجاج در ظاهر ادنی شاگرد او خواهد بود.“

Ahmed Beg had handed over every thing to him. Even the ring which consisted his seal was also in the possession of Muhammad Yūṣuf. Official discussions were held in the house of Ahmed Khān and he used to come at night for the sake of entertainment only. So he remained quite aloof from the affairs of the Sehwan and he did not know about the high-handedness of Muhammad Yūṣuf, and his men. Yūṣuf Mirak has depicted the picture of Ahmed Beg's cruelty in his history vividly. He says that the people were punished without any offence severely. He called the men in his house and whipped them with a scourge. He writes:

وانواع عقوبت باین مردم کردن گرفت، چنانچه هر روز در منزل خود دولت سید کسی را بنایق کرده می زد. هر یک را صد گز و دو صد گز و یک ابریشم و فروش فتنه بود که طرک کرده می شکست باز بسته می داد.

و قرار احمد بیگ خان بود که تمام روز در محل خود می گذراند و چون شب می شد
برآمده دیوان می کرد، تا پاسی از نیمه و مرزا یوسف آن وقت در پیشی برابر خود می آمد
و آنجا بحضور او نیز مردم را گرد می زد و چون کسی در پشت کمره او میزدند
و پروا نداشت.

There was harassment and terror among the People. No one
could dare to meet Ahmed Khan and report about the cruelty
and high handedness of Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf.²²

و هیچ آفریده نبود که از ترس میرزا یوسف بیان واقع را به احمد بیگ خان
بگوید که برادر تو این قسم ظلم و ستم برپا داشته عالم را حراب و ضایع کرده.

At last Yūsuf Mirak found an opportunity and met Ahmed Beg.
He frankly told him that he has authorised all the Powers
to his brother who is unworthy and ill-mannered Person. All
the human beings are the creatures of God and he has made
the king as a viceroy on the earth. "You will be
accountable to God and the king one day. Your brother has
destroyed the People and the country". Thus Yūsuf Mirak Says :-²³

"راحمه مروف یک شب به احمد بیگ خان میرخ گفت که: این ملک خداست
و خدای تعالی به شهنشاه سپرده، و شهنشاه ترا نائب خود کرده
برین ملک فرستاده، و تو این خلق الله را بدست برادر خود داده حراب
و ضایع ساخته. این مصلحت را درین جهان از تو شهنشاه خواهد پرسید،
و چون متوجه آن جهان بشوی، خالق علی الاطلاق از تو خواهد
تحقیق کرد."

Ahmed Beg was very impressed by this talk and he agreed to
Yūsuf Mirak. He at once released, about three hundred
prisoners, who had been imprisoned without any guilt by
Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf and he snatched his stamped-ring. At
that time a back-biter of Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf was also
sitting in a splendid dress, but he was intoxicated; for he
had taken Haghigh, the hemp. Yūsuf Mirak rebuked that fellow

and Ahmed Beg ordered that dust should be put in his mouth and he should be dragged out of the court.²⁴ Yūsuf Mirak now decided to inform the king about the situation. The country was destroyed and the People had no confidence over Ahmed Beg. There was chaos and frustration all over the country. So Yūsuf Mirak left for Bhakhar. He also wanted to write a book about the cruelty and high handedness of Ahmed Beg. Meanwhile Ahmed Beg wrote a letter to Hākim,²⁵ Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ, Muḥammad 'Alī Beg, and Mānasingh, that Yūsuf Mirak be sent here with Mir Hāshim. But when Mir Hāshim reached in Multān, Mir 'Ab-ūl Baqā, the brother of Yūsuf who was the ruler of Multān, received an order for the governorship of Thatta. He came in Thatta with his brother Yūsuf Mirak in 1038 A.H./ 31st August, 1628 A.D. Yūsuf Mirak wanted to go to India after reaching Thatta. But unfortunately he became ill and gave up the idea of the travel for India. He made a vow that if he is cured he will compose book on the affairs of Sind, named: "Naghar-i-Tadbir" and that book will be "presented to the king".²⁶

بخداي خود تذرست که چون ازین مرض خلاص یابد، احوال ولایت
سنند کتاب کرد، دست آویز خود ساخت احرام کعبه خلافت
هفت اقلیم بریند. الحمد لله والمنة که مقتضای این بیت:
الحمد لله برینست آگاهی
چون بیت بخیر است خیرم دهی

He recovered from the disease and composed the history in 1044 A.H./ 27th June 1634 A.D. He intended to write the account of Sind in 1038 A.H/ 31st August 1628 A.D. But it

was written after six ²⁷ years. The book has been dedicated to the Emperor, ²⁸ Shāh Jahan.

نسخہ "مظہر التذکر" با تمام رسید، و امید دارم کہ امیر عادل، متوی لا سلام،
ملک الانعام، امام المشارق والمغارب، ابوالمظفر، شہاب الدین محمد،
صاحب قرآن ثانی، شاہجہان بادشاہ غازی، بنظر رحمت درو نگر.

The book contains five chapters and what ever the author has witnessed he has written. He wanted to improve the affairs of Sind and he has advised the king that Sind is the best Part of India and the inhabitants are poor, God ²⁹ fearing and Poilte.

It is not known when Yūqūf Mirek died and where he has been buried. He remained in Thatta with his brother Mir 'Ab-ul-Baqī, till 1057 A.H./6th February, 1647 A.D. who was the governor of Thatta. ³⁰

MIR SAYYID 'ASHRAF KHĀN.

Mir Sayyid 'Ashraf Khān was the son of Mir 'Abd-ul Karim 'Ameer Khān Sindhi. His father served under 'Ālamgir Aurangzeb and he was bestowed with the title "Ameer Khān" ³¹ in 1116 A.H./ 6th May, 1704 A.D. by the king.

Mir Sayyid 'Ashraf Khān has composed letters. But there is no account of his life or his achievements in any history or Chronicle. According to his collection of letters known as, "Rasā-im- Karā-im", (رقائم کرامت), we find that he was

son of Mir 'Abd-ul Karim. ³² There are two Manuscripts of

"Rasā-im Karā-im" in the British Museum No : C.R.16430-8912

ADD and four manuscripts in ^{خط}India office Library
No. 1761-3021-1596-3388. The latter Manuscript is composed
on 24th Shawāl 1154 A.H. / 19th March 1741 A.D.³³ The book
contains 42 letters under the title "Raḡāim" 120 letters
under the title "Raḡā" and Five as "Farmān". In the end
there are miscellaneous letters. Mir Sayyid 'Ashraf Khān
writes in the introduction :-

« سخن جانست و دیگر گفتگو جانان ز من بشنو
آله هر لحظه جان تازه میتوانی سخن بشنو »

« خامه سلاطین خرد پیژوه ، و خسروان بیدار مغز و الاشکوه ، سیما کلمات
سماعت تاثیر پادشاهان ، خرد کامل نوع انسان ، فرمان روی کشور ، دانواری
ابوالظفر می الدین محمد اورنگزیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی که روحیت در جسم
فرد عیاری برای نیک و بد ، و لهذا الهی الی رحمة الغنی سید اشرف خان
میر محمد الحسین ، بعضی رقعات قدسی آیات آن حضرت را که بخان همه دان
قبله گاهی امیرخان صادره شده بود ، بعد رفتن اکثری از ان بی نقل ها بجا
و منابع شدن بسیاری از ناقدردانی گروه بی پروا جمع نموده ، رساله ترتیب
داده . آن را بمناسبت نام خان مرحوم میرعبد الکریم "رقائم کرامت"
نام نهاده . جهت حضرت یکی ازین برابر هزاره برای هوشیاری اندکسی هم
بسیار فضل او صبحانه تربیت فرمای کهکشان خصوصاً خانه زادان آنحضرت
خدمت مکان باد - بحرمة النبى الحجاری والذالامجاد »

This collection contains the letters which Alāmgir
Aurangzeb wrote to Mir 'Abd'ul Karim Khān. Besides this
some letters are included in this collection".

MIR 'AMEEN-UL-DIN KHAN HUSAYAN.

Mir 'Ameen-ul-Din Husayan was the son of Mir 'Ab-ul-Makārim Shuhūd. His father, "shuhūd" was a learned man and a great poet as well. Mir 'Ab-ul Baqā Ameer Khan, the father of Shuhūd was a rich man and had left sufficient wealth but Shuhūd contented himself with a simple and Derwish-like life. Hence Qānī³⁴ has called him as a "perfect saint". Mir Shuhūd's works have not been found yet; according to "Tuhfat-ul-Kiram"³⁵ he has composed two Mathnavis :-

- (1) Farī Khānā-i-Sulamān.
- (2) Mathnavi Badī-^{ul}-Jamāl-wa- Sayyid Kamāl.

Mir 'Ameen-ul-Din Khan Husayan was a great scholar of his time. He had a great library and he was very fond of reading books. He always had gatherings of learned people.

Mir ³⁶Ali Sher Qānī writes :-

"اغلب اوقات بمطالع کتب و صحبت با علماء پرداخته"

The same author writes in his book Māqālāt-³⁷ul-Shuhūd :-
امیری با اعتبار و ستیاری عالی مقدار بوده - با وجود رتبت امارت اغلب اوقات بمطالع کتب و صحبت با علماء پرداخته.

He was made the governor of Thatta in 1114 A.H./28th May 1702 A.D.

in the latter days of 'Aurangzeb Alamgir.³⁸
در اواخر عمر عالمگیر بادشاه فی سنه اربع و عشرومائه و الف
(۸۱۱۱۶) بایالت بلخ معزز شد.

Mir 'Ameen-ul-Din Khan Hossain had keen interest in reading and writing the books. He was very eager to write something. But there is no definite number of his works. There are two manuscripts of of his works.³⁹

1. Rushd-ul-Furūn.

2. Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq.

According to Qāni⁴⁰, Mir Ameen-ul-Din Khan has discussed on fourteen sciences. There is one manuscript in Khudā Bakhsh Library of Patna, and there are 151 Pages in it and each Page contains 19 lines. The name of the calligraphist is, Sayyid Ahmad b. Sayyid Habibullah. Sayyid Husainul-Din Rashidi has given the list of its contents in his book⁴¹

"Tadh-Kira-i-'Ameer Khāni". The book begins :-⁴²

سیاسی بقیاس آن معبود مطلق و آن مسجود برحق، اما بعد چنین می گوید
اقل الحنیفه، اخذ المباد امین الدین خان بن سید ابوالکارم بن مرحوم امیرخان
الحسینی المروزی که سبب تالیف این سفینه سکنیه، و باعث فراهم او
است که این مجموعہ انبیکہ آنست که چون بعضی احباب و اصحاب فضل را
آرزوی تحصیل علوم عقلیہ و نقلیہ در سرافشار بختضای آنکه گفتند
اند: علم کثیر آمد و عمرت قصیر،
لعمریه ضروری ست از آن منتقل گیر

و آنکه گفته اند:-
حفظ کن مختصری در معرفت
گیر خوشبختی گل از هر گلشن

چند سطر و رشعہ از هر علمی از علوم منقولہ و معقولہ، کثیر المبادہ،
کثیر المنفعہ، نگاشته آمد، تا بقدری مفید طلبان اعزہ اجلہ معرفت
باشد، و فارسی خوانان را تسهیل تحصیل شود

The author gives the *date of compilation* of the book in the following couplet :-

« واز پدایح منبایح آنکه همین اسم باندک تجیه تاریخ انجام این مجموعه می شود.
پنایح منظوم نموده شد:»

لله الحمد کن عطائی خدا
شد مرتب سفینه معلوم
طرفه مجموعه عدم شد
که سرجهل ازاف شد معدوم
«دشحات الفنون» برد نامش
1123 = 3 = 1126

با معنی ست اسم این مرقوم
چون سرجهل از و بریده شود.

Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq contains the information about Geography.

But the book is not traceable. Sayyid Husamul-Din Reshidi⁴³ has given the list of the contents in his book *Tadhkirā-1-*

'Amēr Khānī, and some extracts have also been given

which are taken from Henry Elliot's File No : 2, O.R. 266; the British Museum. The beginning of the book is :-

« آغاز کتاب بحمد خدا یصفی کرم کرم بخت رحمة گستر خلیفه پرور که از
آیات زود بیت او هر ذره ترجمه و نشان و از مر قیضی بیان و
برهان است الخ »

The book ends :-

« ذکر در بیان گرگت و گز مرد از پارچه و غیره. شا نزده جریب را یک بحرو
من از دگر در یک و ده که آن گز شا هجها می باشد. در بیان گز مرد آنکه
هشت کرده را یک انگشت و بیست و چهار انگشت یک دست و چهار دست
یک دند. و هزار دند را یک کرده و چهار کرده را یک جو. ثم الاموال والصواة
والسلاح علی محمد خاتمه الانبیاء والمرسلین و الحمد لله رب العالمین فقط »

Mir 'Ameen-ul-Din Khān died in 1127 A.H. / 7th January, 1715 A.D.

⁴⁴
Qānī in "*Maqālāt-ul-Sh'arē*" writes :-

تاریخ وفات او است بر خصل الحقت (۱۱۲۷. ۹. ۴)

His grave is at Fardā Hill at Thatta in the grave-yard of

His grave is on Makli Hill at Thatta in the grave yard of 'Ameer Khāni. There is a rock-stone fence around his grave and it is beautifully engraved and the following couplet is written there :-

خان با تمکین امین الدین خان
عالی از حسن عمل درجات او
چون سفر کرد از جهان بی ثبات
سلا فوستر "داخل الجَنّات" او
(۱۱۲۶)

1. Qānī :- "Tuhft-ul-Kirān" Vol. III, (Persian Text); P. 127.
2. Shāh Nawāz Khān :- "Māthur-ul-'Umrā", Vol. III, P. 74. edited by Maulavi 'Abdul Rahim & Mirzā 'Ashraf 'Ali Calcutta; 1891.
3. S.H. Rashidi :- "Tadhkirah" :- 'Ameer Khāni'; P. 8 S.A.R. Hyderabad, 1961.
4. Ibid; P. 9 (See "Māthur-ul-'Umrā", Vol. III, P. 74).
دکتر بی بی از غلّ تیار کرد و پیشکش فرستاد، بتمکین ملقب گردید
(Also Shaykh Farīd Shakhari "Dhakira-t-'ul- Khawānī" :- P. 108.
5. S.H. Rashidi : Op. Cit. ; pp. 51-52.
6. Ibid; P. P. 58-59.
7. Fuzuf Mirak :- "Tārīkh-Naghar-i-Shāh Jahāni" (Persian Text); P. 121.
8. Ibid; () P. 3.

9. Ibid; p.p.58-59.

10. The author remembers his father as "Pir Ghulām" every where in his history, "Tārīkh-i-Magāhar-i-Shāh Jahānī".

11. Shāykh Farīd Bhakharī :- Op.Cit. P.120.

"در جاگیر داری بامر تعلیم نظم و خط راقم این از مسوده از آن مرصع کرده."

12. S.H.Rāshidī; Op.Cit. p.65.

13. Fthe :- "India Office Catalogue"; (Persian M.M.S) Vol : I; pp.1141-1142.

14. S.H.Rāshidī; Op.Cit; PP. 67-68.

15. Miyān Ghulām 'Alī "Maddh" was a great poet of Thatta. The note-book which contains his verses is known as "Gowhar-i-Mangūm". (See S.H.Rāshidī; Op.Cit. p.p.67-68).

16. Yūsuf Mirak :- Op.Cit.(Persian Text); P.114.

17. S.H.Rāshidī; Op.Cit.; P.133.

18. Ibid; P.142.

19. Yūsuf Mirak: Op.Cit. (Persian Text); P.154.

20. Ibid; () ; P.154.

21. Ibid; () ; P.156.

22. Ibid; () ; P: 159.

23. Ibid; () ; P: 159.

24. Ibid; () ; P P.159-160.

25. Ibid; P. 616. They were the rulers of Bhakhar.
26. Ibid; () P. 162.
27. S.H. Rāshidi :- Op. Cit; P. 169.
28. Yūsuf Mirak :- Op. Cit.; (Persian Text); P. 162.
29. Ibid; () : 242.
30. S.H. Rāshidi :- Op. Cit. P. 170.
31. Ibid; P. 174.
32. Ibid; P. 184.
33. Ibid; PP. 184-185 See also Rishthe; PP. 375 to 378, 140-141.
34. Qāni :- "Tuhfat-ul-Kiram"; Vol III; pp. 96-208.
35. Ibid; P. 208 (See also "Tadhkira-e-'Ameer Khāni"; P. 188).
36. Ibid; P. 208.
37. Qāni :- "Maqālat-ul-Shu'arā"; P. 25.
38. Ibid; P. 24 (See also Tadhkira-e-'Ameer Khāni P. 194)
39. Ibid; P. 25 (See also Tadhkira-i-'Ameer Khāni; P. 195 to 205.
40. Ibid; P. 25.
41. S.H. Rāshidi :- "Tadhkira-e-'Ameer Khāni"; P. P. - 197 to 200.
42. Ibid; P. 196; (See also Henry Elliot's File No : OR.2060, British Museum; "History of India".
43. Ibid; P. 201; (See also Henry Elliot's File No : O.R. 1741, British Museum).
44. Qāni :- Op. Cit.; P. 28.
45. S.H. Rāshidi :- Op. Cit. PP. 206-207.

SHAYKH FARID BHAKHARI.

(d.1061 A.H./1650 A.D.)

Shaykh Farid Bhakhari was born at Bhakhar, as we find 'Bhakhari' at the end of his name. He has not mentioned the date of his birth any where in his work 'Dhakhiṣṭul Khawānīn'. But it would be reasonable to put it in the last decade of tenth century Hijrah¹, says Dr. Sayyid Mo¹in¹ul Haqq. His family was connected with Mirzā 'Isā Beg II. (d.1062 A.H/ 1651 A.D.), the well-known ruler of Thatta and his uncle Mullā 'Ishāq Bhakhari was a celebrated scholar of his time. Once Mullā 'Ishāq was appointed as a tutor for Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, by Mirzā Jūnī Beg.²

According to Dr. Sayyid Mo³in³ul Haqq we find Shaykh Farid's father, Shaykh Ma³rūf, first mentioned in connection with the siege of Bhakhar by the Mughal forces in 978 A.H/ 1570 A.D. The siege lasted for several years and the besieged were reduced to great hard ships. "We were inside the besieged fort," says Farid's father, a loaf of bread could not even be obtained in return for life. The people ate the dogs, the cats, the mice and the crows". After the capture of Bhakhar by the Mughals, Shaykh Ma³rūf was appointed 'Sadr' and seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the 'Imperial Government'. Shaykh Ma³rūf was a noble and courageous man. He was a man of influence and possessed a

Peculiar status in his times. His son, Shaykh Farid Bhakhari calls him ⁴ 'Maghar-i-Jalāl-i-shāhiyat (manifestation of the dignity of God). He has related a story indicating how courageous he was in expressing his true feelings; we quote here the same in the words of Dr. S. - Mo⁵ in 'ul Hs99 :-

"Once when Mir 'Anjū held the charge of Bhakhar, Shaykh Ma'rūf, Shaykh 'Abd'ul Rehman, Mir 'Adil, Qādi 'Abd-Sa'eed and Qādi Muḥammad Hussayn happened to be present at the Mir's house. Out of mere joke Mir Anjū remarked: "It is fundamental principle of Nahw that two contradictions cannot be together; here I see four contradictions. If all of you are killed, the 'Sarkār' of Bhakhar would be purged of treason, revolt and disorders". All remained silent except Shaykh Ma'rūf who retorted promptly: "What about the fifth, their leader? If he is also disposed of the region of Bhakhar will become much cleaner". Anjū enquired whom he was referring to as the leader of the gang? "To yourself" was the audacious reply of Ma'rūf. Anjū was not prepared for a bombshell like this. He was deeply stung by this remark and left the party. Farid adds that after this incident he was never heard to have indulged in such jokes".

Shaykh Farid has given some references about his early education. He acquired his education from Mullā ⁶ Mustafā Jawādūrī and from Mir 'Abd'ul Qāsim Khān Hamkīn, as he ⁷ says :-

"تعلیم و نظم و خط را قلم این مسود از آذر و صوم امیر ابو القاسم خان
کرد."

It is very difficult to ascertain his exact educational achievement; but he was well versed in Persian. He knew Arabic, Pashtū, Hindi and Sindhi. He was able to write poetry and there are his own couplets quoted by him in different places in "Dhakhiṛat-ul-Khawānīn". He has composed chronograms too. On the death of Shahbāt Khān in 1044 A.H/ 1634 A.D. he wrote two chronograms:-

سپہ سالار رفتا and رخ مراد.

Shaykh Farid was an orthodox Sunni Muslim. He has devoted himself to the famous Sufi Shaykhs. He was the disciple of Mir 'Abdullāh Mighkīn raqm. He has also a "great faith in the Suhrawardiyyah Shaykhs of Multān, particularly Bahā'ul-Dīn Zakīryā".

Shaykh Farid served under the Mughal Government nearly a period of half century; but there is no detailed account of his activities. It is also difficult to find out the year of his death, but according to Dr. S. Mo'in¹¹ ul-Haqq, "it can be stated that he was past sixty in 1061 A.H/1650 A.D. When he was giving final touches to his book "Dhakhiṛat-ul-Khawānīn", his age was fairly advanced".

"Dhakhiratul Khawānīn." (1060 A.H/1650 A.D.)

Dhakhiratul Khawānīn contains the biographical sketches of the Mughal nobility. This is useful work on Mughal history. Its first volume gives the account of 184 nobles. It was composed in 1060-61 A.H/1650 A.D.

Shaykh Farid has supplied very useful information in Dhakhiratul Khawānīn and he is quite independent in describing his views. There is no hesitation in his criticism and sometimes he condemns the vices of famous people. He writes about Mirzā ¹² 'Abd-ul Rahīm Khān Khānān :-

تند مزاج هم بود صدای کوزه البته از خاندان مسموم عالم مشید و در استیلا
غضب نتوانست محافظت خود کردم و طالب دنیا بود و این لفظ بارگیر
بود که در لباس دوستی دشمنی پادشاهن باید کرد.

About Mir ¹³ Mas'ūm Bakhsh :-

اولا چهل دوست بود دوم مشیر العداوت
About ¹⁴ Hawwāb Murtaḍā

اولا اگر در وقت تناول چند پیاله شراب را می خور دند،
دوم در حق رعایا رحم دل نبودند سبک بشدید بعد اوت بودند.

About ¹⁵ Mahābat Khān :-

دریغ ایت حال به هیچ دین و مرضب استقامت نداشت بعد
روزه نیاز متید نبود و سفای و بیباکی او از هر من المشمن است.

We find in "Dhakhiratul Khawānīn" the most useful material about Mughal history. Shaykh Farid's language is indigenous

spoken by the people of that period. His style is extremely straight forward. He has given the dates of the death of celebrated persons and composed chronograms by himself.

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1. Shaykh Farid Bhakhar: "Dhakhiyatul Khawānīn"
"Introduction"; P.6.
 2. Qāni: "Tuhfatul-Kiram"; (Urdu translation); P.395.
 3. Shaykh Farid: Op.Cit."Introduction"; P.7.
 4. Ibid; _____; P.9.
 5. Ibid; _____; P.9-10.
 6. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P.10.
 7. Ibid; (Persian Text); P.200.
 8. For details see "Introduction"; P.11.
 9. Ibid; _____ P.11.
 10. Ibid; "(Introduction)" P.12.
 11. Ibid; _____ P.24.
 12. Ibid; (Persian Text); P.55 and 62.
 13. Ibid; (____); P.205.
 14. Ibid; "Introduction"; P.24.
 15. Ibid; _____ P.25.

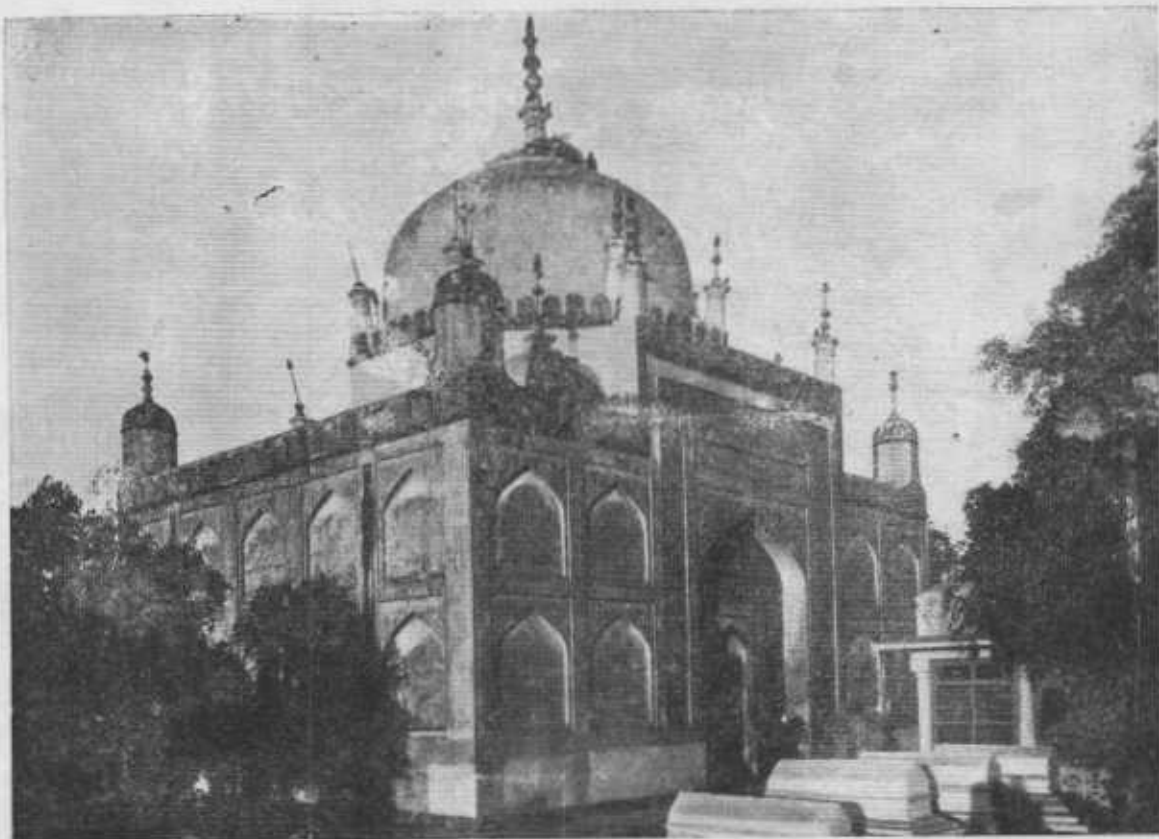
CHAPTER III.

THE KALHORĀ PERIOD

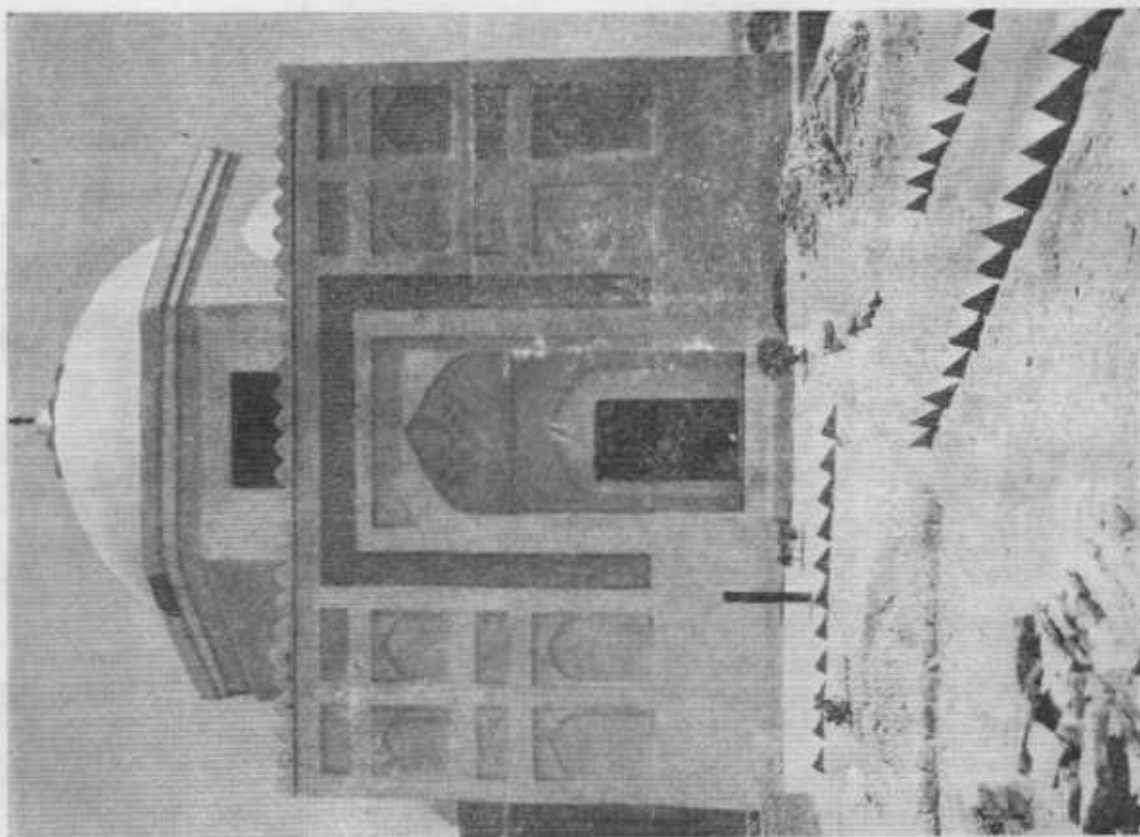
(1701-1782 A.D/1113-1197 A. H.)

The Kalhorās are said to be descended from Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be upon him). According to the Hughes, ¹ 'Kalhorās derive their direct descent from Muḥammad of Kambāthā, who lived about 1204 A.D/1601-2 A.H. at the time when Nāsir-'ul-Dīn Qabācha (d.625 A.H/1227 A.D). governed northern Sind'. Their ancestor Qādhānsh who lived in Kech Makrān was honoured as a spiritual guide by a large number of people. One of these, ² Thal by name, twenty fifth in descent from Miyān Qādhānsh, invaded Kā-hrah Belah, which was then in the hands of the Gujrāt tribe, and took possession of it. After the death of Thal, his son Bhil succeeded to the throne. Bhil's son Chanīyah, on account of the quarrel of his brothers, left his native places and went to Kambāt to live among the tribe of Qāhejah. Then he married a daughter of a big land lord, named 'Dehrāh Pālāl' Sammā, from whom he was blessed with a son, called Muḥammad.

The glory of Kalhorā begins from Miyān'Ādam Shāh. He was settled at Hatri in ³ Chāndūka; when 'Abd'ul Rahīm Khān Khānān came in Sind, he visited Ādam Shāh for prayer and bestowed him the possession of the land of ⁴ Chāndūka.



1. A Tomb of Miyān Sarfrāz Khān Kalhora. (Hyderabad).



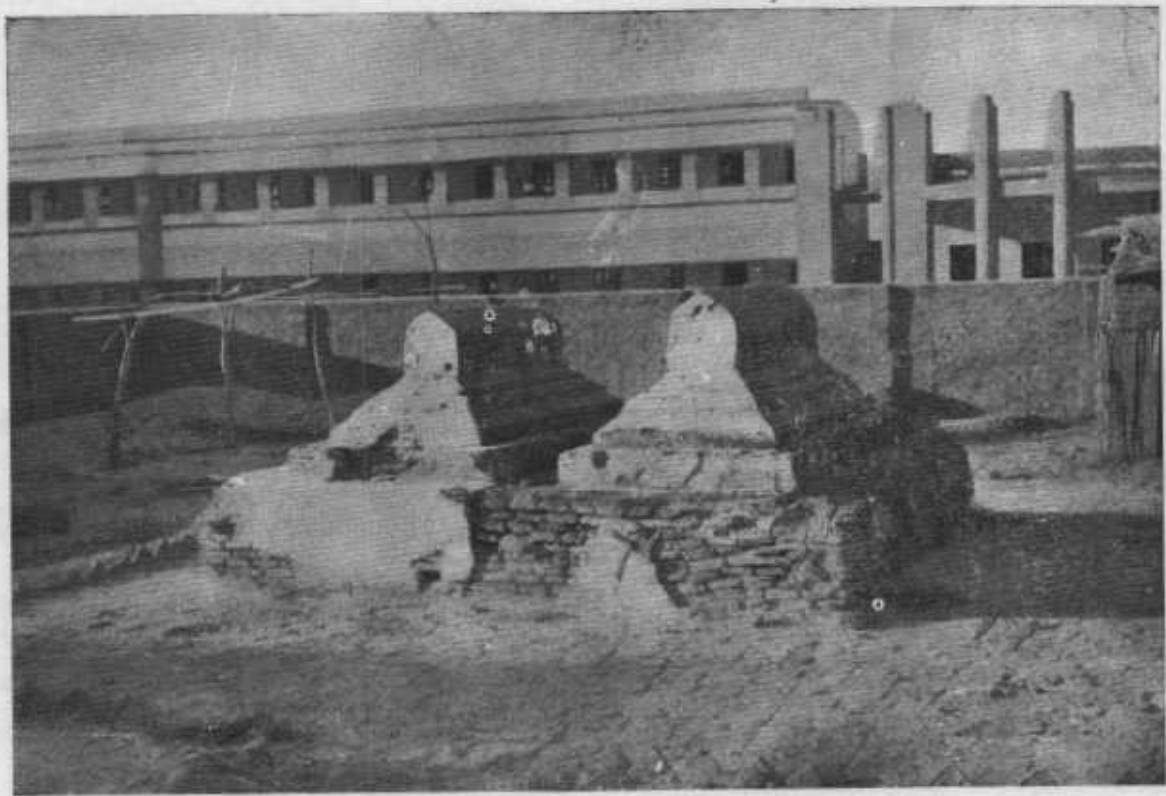
2. A Tomb of Miyān Ādam Shāh Shaheed. (Sukkur)

As he became famous Person, so he was put to death by the ruler of Multān on account of jealousy. He was buried in Sukkur. He was succeeded by Miyān 'Ilyās b. Da'ūd b. Ādam Shāh. Miyān 'Ilyās died and Miyān Shāh Muhammad declared himself as the successor.

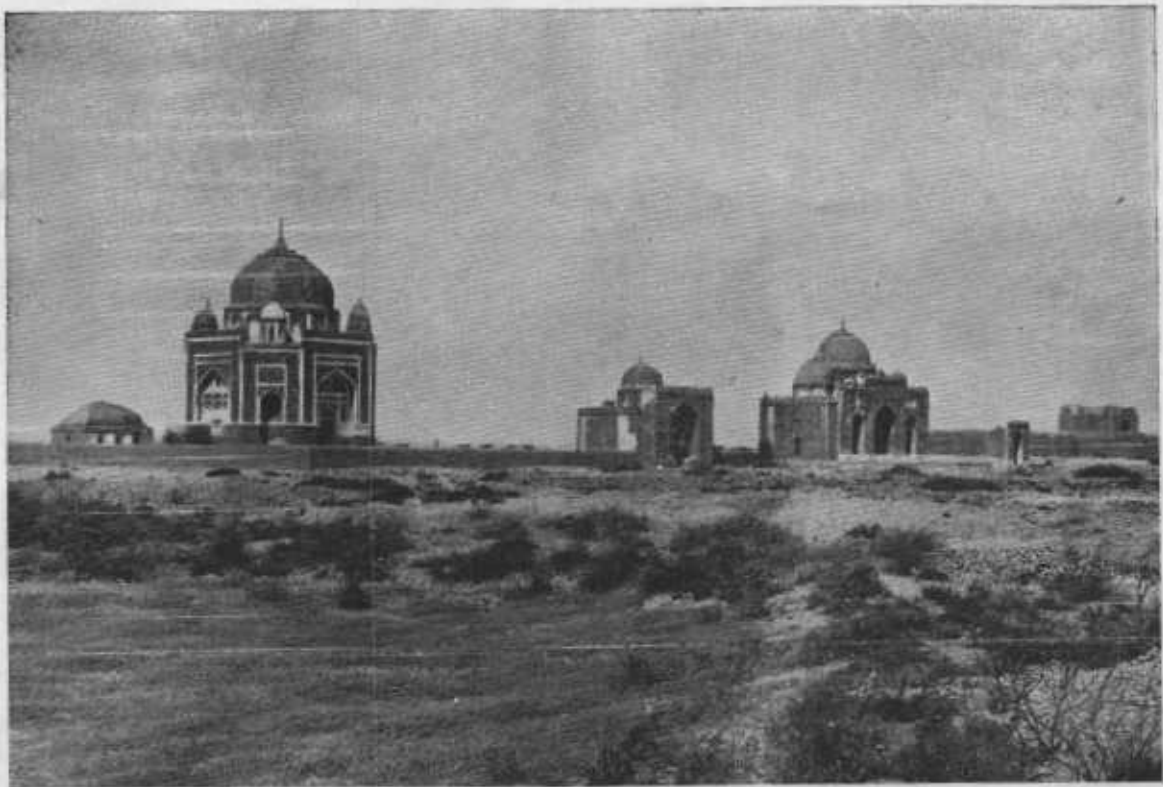
It is said that Ghāro Canal was dug by Miyān Shāh Muhammad Kalhora and by this time the number of their followers had increased to a large extent and they used to cultivate the lands with an intense enthusiasm. He was assassinated by the land Lords, Jām Siddique and Jalāl Khān 'Abro, for he had divided the lands among his people.

In 1108 A.H/1696 A.D. Miyān Naqir Muhammad succeeded his father and on account of the jealousy of the people he was sent to Emperor Aurangzeb (d.1707A.D/1119A.H) at Delhi. There he was confined for a long time. When he was released from the confinement, he lived in a village named Ghāro, and died there.

After the death of Miyān Naqir Muhammad, his son Miyān Din Muhammad succeeded him. The power and influence of Kalhoras was increasing day by day and it was the challenge to Prince Muḥṣṣul-Din (grand son of Aurangzeb), the governor of Multān. So he advanced to Sind. When Miyān Din Muhammad knew this he deputed his counsellors to him at Bhakhar. They satisfied the Prince, and returned to Multān. Afterwards Faqir Bahār Shāh looted Mithelo and the



1. The grave of Miyan 'Itir Khān Kihora and...(Government Girls College, Hyderabad).

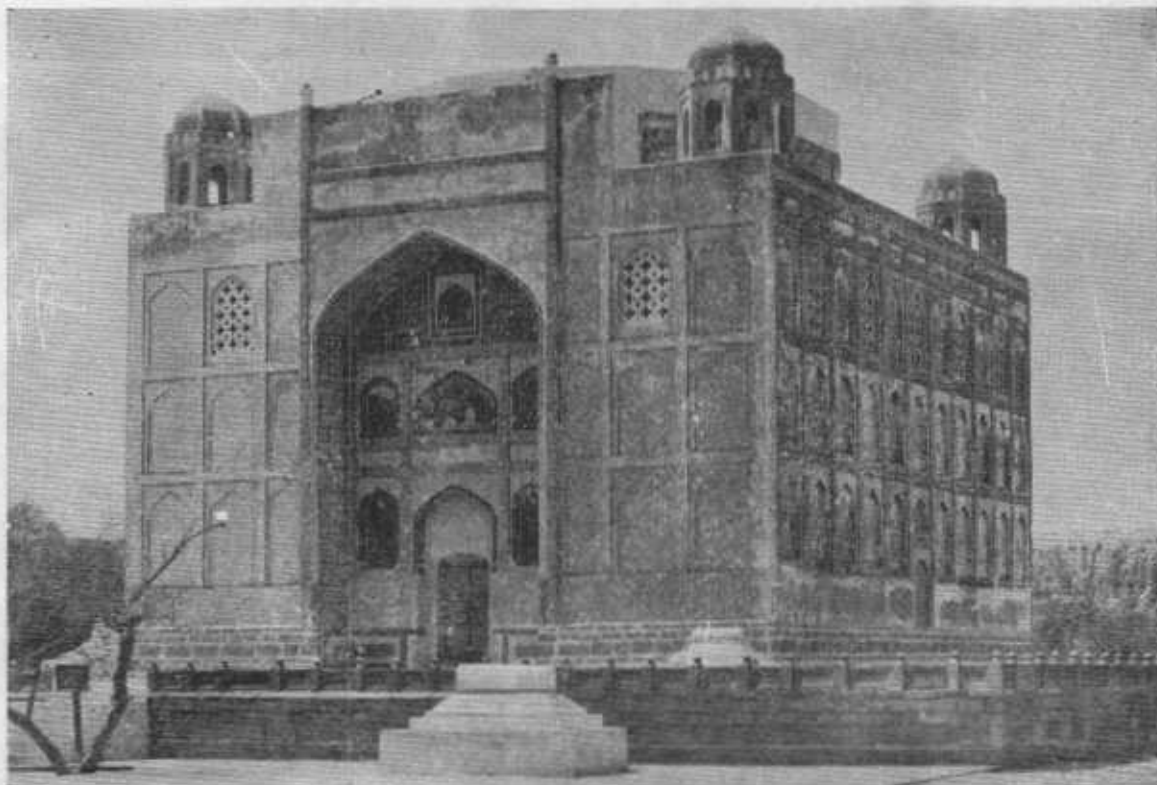


2. The Tombs of Kalhora, (Hyderabad).

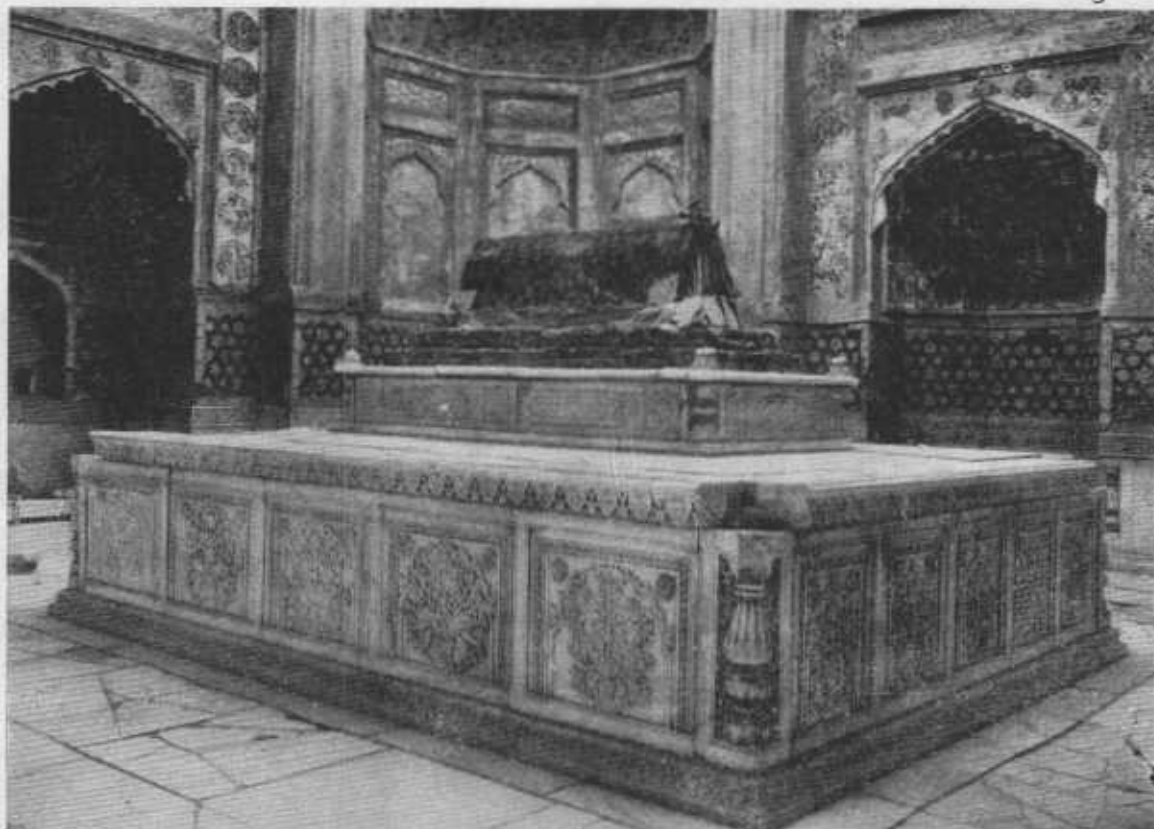
villages of its vicinity and put to sword the inhabitants of 'Uch. Prince Mu'izz-'ul-Din came back and took the vengeance of his men. Miyān Dīn Muḥammad died in about 1708 A.D./1120-21 A.H. He was succeeded by Miyān Yār Muḥammad. He was the real founder of the Kalhorā period. It happened during his days when Nawwāb 'A'ẓam Khān, the Mughal Agent at Thatta martyred Shāh 'Ināyāt Sūfī (1130 A.H/1717 A.D.) treacherously. Miyān Yār Muḥammad died in 1131 A.H/1718 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Nūr Muḥammad Kalhorā. He increased his dominion and added the Shikārpūr which was the country of Dāūd Potās. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad became the ruler of lower as well as upper Sind.

In 1740 A.D./1153 -54 A.H. When Afghān king, Nādir Shāh attacked Sind, Miyān Nūr Muḥammad, the then ruler of Sind, could not face storming troops of Afghāns, fled to 'Umar Kot; but Nādir Shāh chastised him there and Miyān Yār Muḥammad had to submit. The latter was however, pardoned and agreed to pay twenty lacs of rupees to the Persian monarch as an annual tributary, along with the initial fine of Rupees one crore.

After the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747 A.D./1160 A.H. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad avoided to pay the tribute fixed by Nādir Shāh. Thus Ahmad Shāh, the Afghān monarch despatched an army to Sind. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad fled to Jessalmir and he died there in 1753 A.D./1167 A.H. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad was an elevated ruler.



1, The Tomb of Miyān Ghulām Shāh Kalhora, (Hyderabad).



2, The grave of Miyān Ghulām Shāh Kalhora, (Hyderabad).

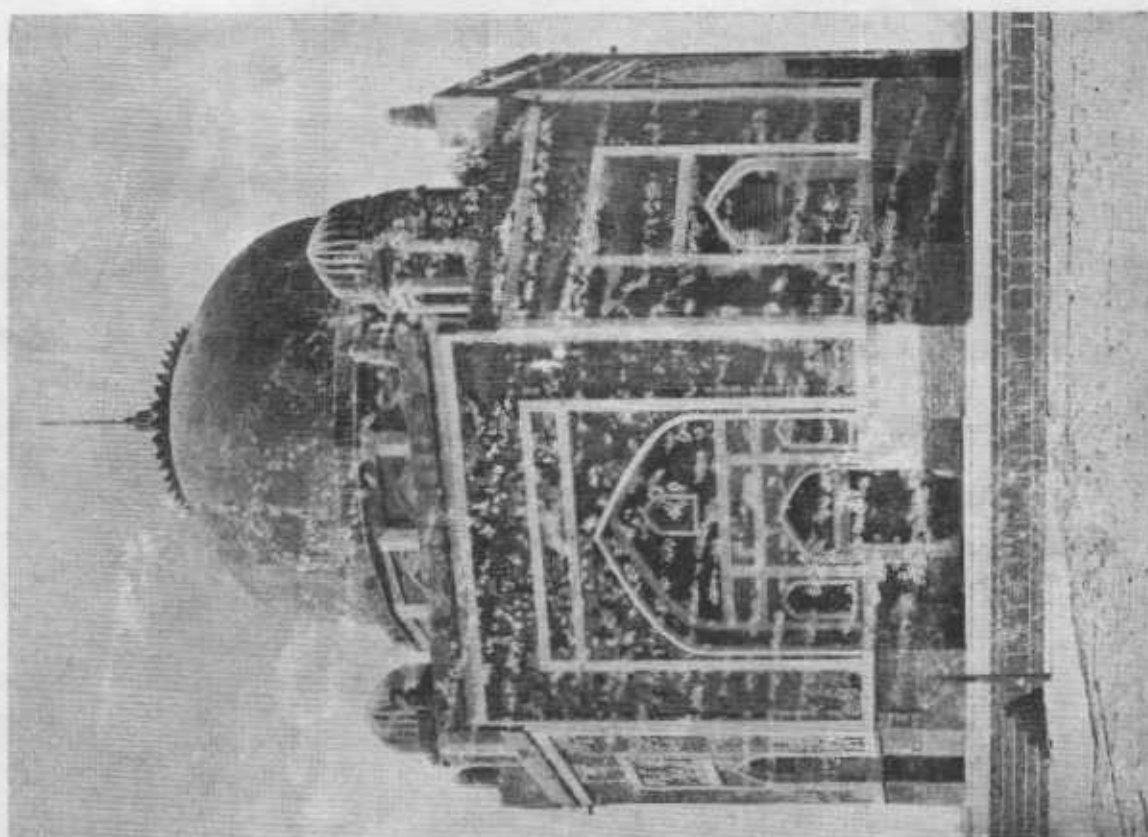
Ghulām Shāh Kalhora became ruler of the country in 1170 A.H/ 1756-57 A.D. and was liked by the People. We find that from 1170 to 1172 A.H/1756 to 1758 A.D. Sind remained in a miserable condition of chaos and confusion. It was Ghulām Shāh Kalhora who overpowered with his skill. His brother ‘Itir Khān oppressed the People and he lost his dignity. Both the brothers, ‘Itir Khān and Ahmed Yār Khān could not be successful in deposing Ghulām Shāh. On the contrary Ghulām Shāh conquered the forts of Sundri, Lakhpet and Basta Port. The Rāo of Kachh made negotiation with him after the lost of 2000 men, in a very grim battle. He got a title of 'Samaṣam-'ul-Daulah' from the king of Kachh on account of his bravery. He also married the niece of Rāo of Kachh in 1184 A.H/1770 A.D., but he fell ill, could not survive long and died in 1186 A.H/1772 A.D. Miyān Ghulām Shāh built the fort of Hyderābād in 1182 A.H/1768 A.D.

After his death, Miyān Sārfrāz Khān, the eldest son ascended the throne with the unanimous demand of the people. He subjugated the Jārejās and returned in Sind in 1188 A.H/ 1774 A.D. He forced English not to open the East India factories in Thatta.

During the reign of Kalhorās, Talpūrs enjoyed high ranks. Mir Behrām Khān was very popular and an influential man in the country. Miyān Ghulām Shāh had thorough confidence upon him and the People liked him very much. But on the instigation of some envious persons, Miyān Ghulām Shāh had



1. The Grave of Miyān Ghulām Nabi Kalhora, (Hyderabad).



2. The Tomb of Miyān Ghulām Nabi Kalhora, (Hyderabad).

Sārfrāz Khān put Mir Bahrām Khān and his son Sobdār Khān to death ⁷1189 A.H./1775 A.D, without pondering over the consequences.

The death of Mir Bahrām Khān opened the avenue for the rebellion all over the country. People, such as Rājō Lekhi, 'Allāh Bakhsh Jhinjan Mehrāb Jato'ī who had poisoned the ears of Miyān Sārfrāz Khān and were the real culprits in the death of Mir Bahrām Khān left him and joined Mir Fath⁸ Khān's Camp.

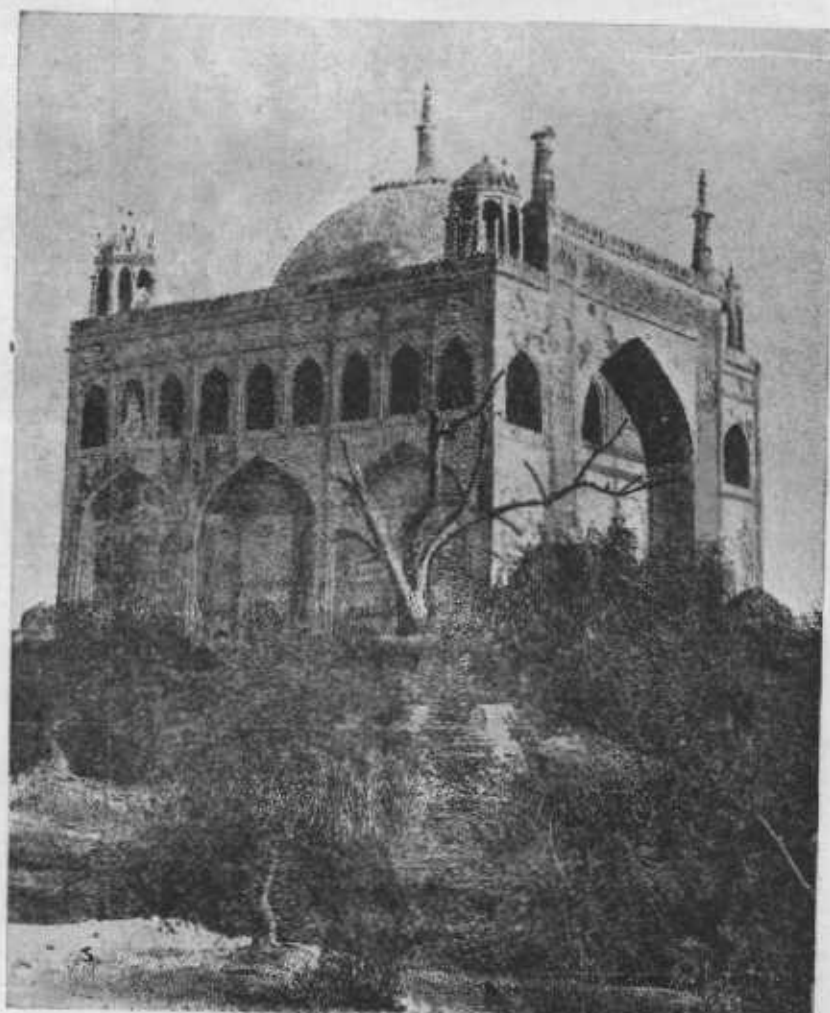
Miyān Sārfrāz Khān left the country. His brother Mahmūd -succeeded him. But the real power were remained in the hands of Rājō Lekhi and afterwards he deposed Miyān Mahmūd Khān and Ghulām Nabi (Son of Miyān Nūr Muhammad) was put to the throne¹⁰. He was soon killed. When his brother Miyān 'Abdul-Nabi knew this, he immediately put all the persons to death who claimed to be the successors. He also could not hold the political powers for a long time. In 1196 A.H./1781 A.D. Mir Fath⁹ Khān and the Talpūrs fought a decisive battle against Kalhorās at Hālāni, where the latter were absolutely over thrown. Thus ended the ignominious rule of Kalhorās and, the Talpūrs came into power and pelf.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS.

The Kalhorās were religious minded people and they established Madrasahs. The number of these centres of



1. The Tomb of Miyan Noor Muhammad Kalhora. (Moro, District Nawāb Shāh).



2. The Tomb of Miyan Yar Muhammad Kalhora, (Khudābād, District Dādū).

learning estimated in those days was more than fifty towns and villages in Sind and the most famous were : Thatta, Hah-khar, Sukkur, Rohri, Sewistān Būbak, Hālā Kandi, Jaheja, 'Unarpur, Nazzarpur, Walhūr, Matlari, Bulri, Hyderābād, Darbe-¹¹-lla, Shikārpūr and Khuhra etc. Many scholars and poets sprang in this period and every scholar and poet had its own library, e.g. Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim Tattawi (d.1174 A.H/ 1760 A.D.) wrote about 150 books in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. Makhdūm Muḥammad Mu'in (d.1161 A.H/ 1748 A.D.) whose only 17 works are known to us.¹² Other scholars who wrote in Arabic, were : Shaykh Muḥammad Hayāt Sindhi (d.1163 A. H/1749 A.D.) Makhdūm 'Ab-'ul -Qāsim Naqshbandi (d.1138 A.H/1725 A.D.) Hājī Faqīr-'ullāh 'Alavi (d.1195 A.H/1780 A.D.). Besides his Arabic works, he composed letters ("Inshā'at") in Persian, and Makhdūm 'Abd-'ul-Wāhid Sewistāni (d.1225 A.H/1810 A.D.).

We find three ruling Princes of the Kalhora dynasty, who were the Patronizer of learning; e.g. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad, Miyān Ghulām Shāh and Miyān Sarfrāz Khān. The first had a rich library, which was devastated by Nadīr Shāh. He instructed his sons that 'they should cultivate the friendship of the pious and the learned men! and his¹³ "Manṣūḡrūl-Waṣiyya-wa-Dastūr-'ul-Hikmat" is the testimony of his wisdom and learning., he used to give monthly stipend to Muḥammad Muḥsin Tattawi (d.1163 A.H/1749 A.D). Miyān Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā inspired Mir 'Alli Sher Qān'

(d.1203 A.H/1788 A.D.) to write the History of Kalhorā Period and Qānī⁴ was the voluminous writer of this Period and remained in the Tālpūr Period too. Miyān Sarfrāz Khān Possessed scholarly virtues and he himself was a Poet. He was the friend of Ghulām 'Alī "Maddāh" (d.1145 A.H/1732-33A.D.) and Sayyid Thābit 'Alī Shāh (d.1225 A.H/1810 A.D.).

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1. Hughes A.W. :- Sind Gazetteer; P.31.
 2. Qānī⁴ :- "Tuhfat-ul- Kirām"; (Sindhi Translation); P.254.
 3. Ibid; P.255 — See (Mahar :- Tārikh-i-Sind, Part VI Kalhorā Period, Vol.II), P.139.
 4. Ibid; pp 255-256 (Ibid; P.142).
 5. Ibid; P.256.
 6. Mac Murdo James. "History of Sind and Memoir on the Indus; P.20.
 7. Luṭfūllāh Badvi :- "Tadhkirah-i-Luṭfi"; Vol.I, P.120.
 8. Mahar :- "Tārikh-i-Sind"; Part III (Kalhorā Period, Vol:II), P.712.
 9. Ibid; P.716.
 10. Ibid; P.732.
 11. Ibid; P.890.
 12. — "Alwāhid", special number, 1936, P.34.
 13. Miyān Nūr Muḥammad :- "Maṅghūr-'ul-Waṣīyat-Wa-Dastūr-'ul-Hikmat"; (Persian Text); P.5.

MAKHḌŪM MUHAMMAD MU'IN *alias* MAKHḌŪM THARO TATTAWI

(1093 - 1161 A.H / 1682 - 1748 A.D.).

Muḥammad Mu'īn was the son of Muḥammad 'Amin of Thatta. He was a great ṣūfī, well-versed in Persian and 'Arabic. He was erudite scholar in all branches of learning. He composed poems under Nom-de-Plume¹ "Taslim". His Takhalluṣ¹ in Hindustānī was "Barāgi" (Recluse).

He was the true follower of Makhḍūm 'Ab'ul Qāsim b. Nūr-'ul-Haqq Naqshbandī of Thatta and he passed much of his time in the company of his intimate friend 'Abd'ul-Latif "Ṭarīk"² of Bhit.

Many of his students attained high positions in life and became Professors and Judges etc. Among them were; his sister's son, Sayyid Najm-'ul-Din³ "Uzlat" (d. 1160 A.H/ 1747 A.D.) and Maulavi Muḥammad Sādiq and celebrated men⁴ of his time and some Princes paid respects to him.

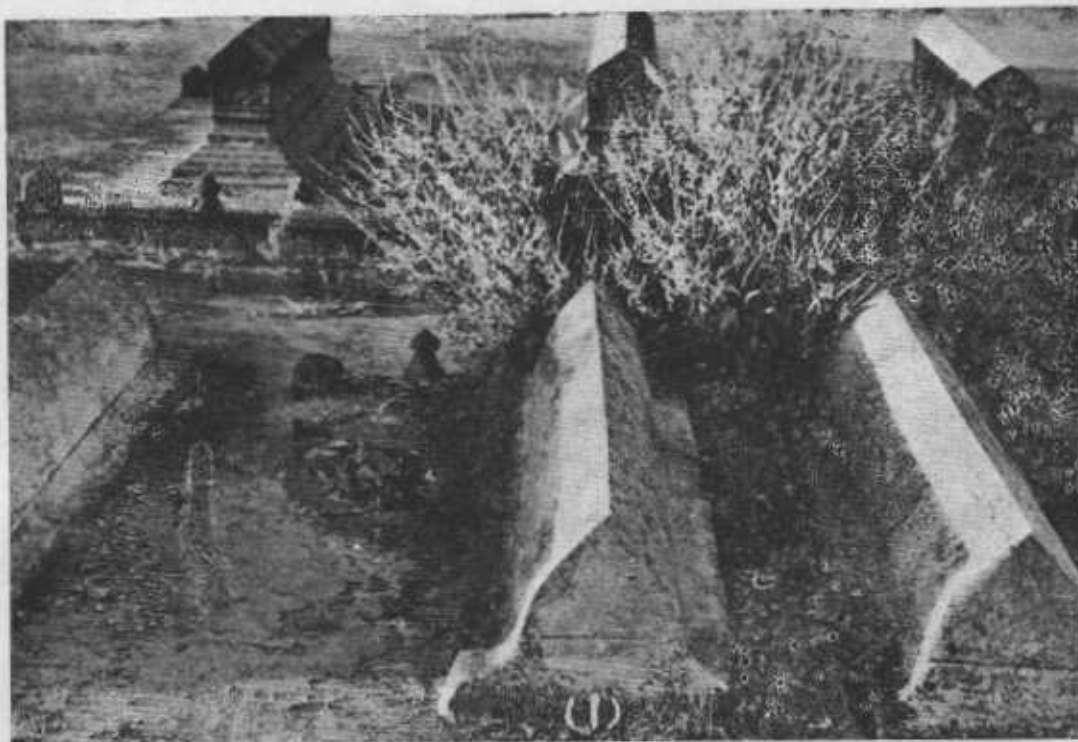
He composed the following books⁵. Most of them are in 'Arabic and they deal with logic, metaphysics and mysticism.

1. Raf-'al-Ghayn (Removal of Thirst).
 2. Dirāsāt-'ul-Labīb (studies for the Intelligent).
- Printed at Lahore in 1886 A.D.

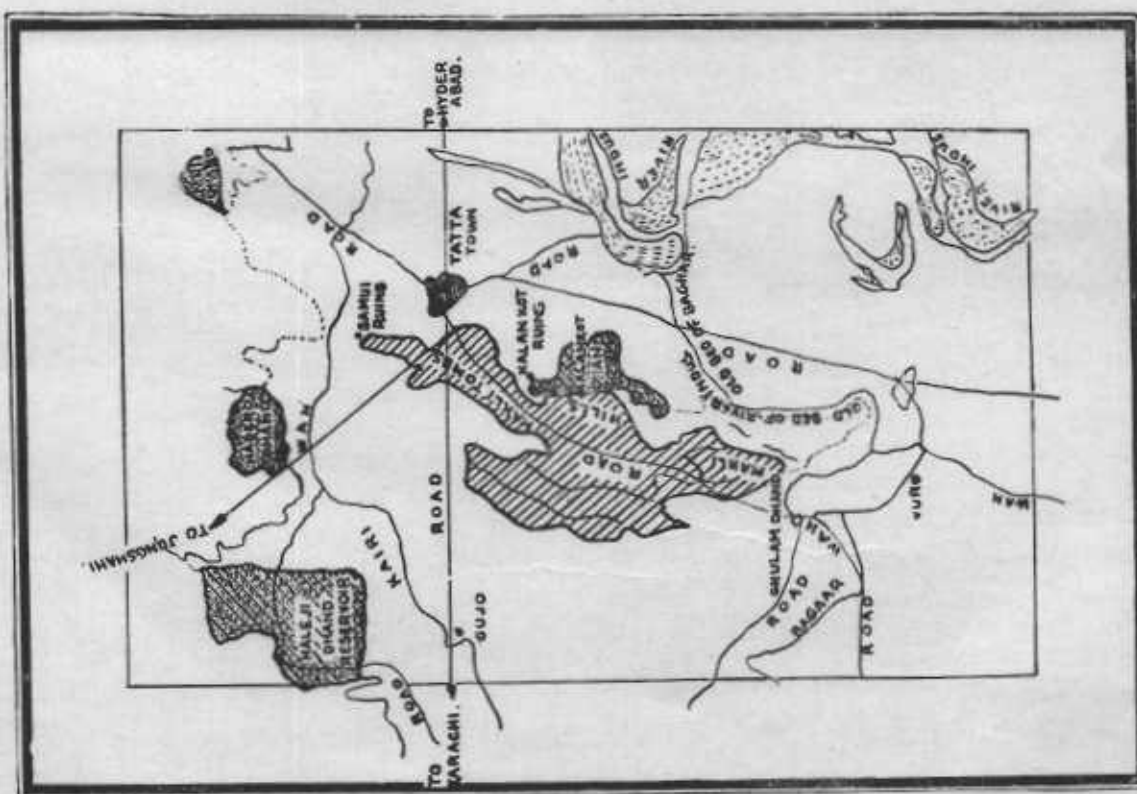
3. Bahjat-'ul-'Anzār (The delight of Eyes),
4. Alhujjat-'ul-'Jaliyyah (The clear Argument),
5. I'qaz-'ul-Waswān (Arouser of those in slumber),
6. Nūr-'ul-'Ayn (The light of the Eye),
7. Aljūd-'ul-'Thamīn (The precious i.e. Extensive Generosity),
8. Al-Khwāṭif (Dazzling Flashes of lightning),
9. Nawāhib-'ul-Sayyid-'il-Baḥar (Gifts of the Lord of mankind i.e. The Holy Prophet),
10. Al-Ḥaqq-'ul-Ḥarīḳ (The Manifest Truth),
11. Nūr-'ul-Majd Fī Minh-'ul-Wajd (The light of Glory in the Gift of Ecstasy),
12. Mutārshāt-'ul-Tahqīq Fī Burhānī-t-Tatbīq (Sure i.e. valuable Dialogues on the proofs of concordance);
13. Risālat-'ul-I'tidālāt-'il-'Arba' (A treatise on the Four Elements),
14. Rafā'-'ul-'Ishkāl-was-Zahmat (Removal i.e. solution of Doubts and Difficulties),
15. Wahdat-'ul-Wajūd-wal-Mawjūd (The unity of Existence and the existent),
16. Risālat-'ul-Kulyāt-Tab'ī' (A Treatise on Natural Universals),
17. Al-'Abdāh Fī Muhakamāti Bayn-an-Nawawī-wa-Ibn-'ul-Salāh (Judging between An-Nawawī and Ibn-'ul-Salāh),

18. Al-Midrās-'ul-Dimiya 'Alā Ḥashīyat-'it-Qadimiya
(The continuous Downpour on the Scholia of the
Qadimiya),
19. Ḥashīyatū-Sharḥ-i-Zaurā' (Marginal notes on the
commentary of Zaurā'),
20. Sharḥ-i-Diwan-i-Ḥāfiẓ (commentary of the Diwan of
Ḥāfiẓ upto the radifmim).

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1. Qānī : "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā" No 116; P. 121.
 2. Ibid; P. 121.
 3. Ibid; No 469; P. 437.
 4. Ibid; P. 122.
 5. SadārangānīDr : Persian poets of Sind; PP. 87-88
(See also "Alwāḥid" Special Number;
P. 35; June 1936, Karāchi).



1. The Grave of Makhdūm Mu'reen (I) (Grave-yard of Hazrat 'Ab-ul-Qāsim Naqshbandi, Makli Hill, Thatta.



2. A map showing Makli Hill and its vicinity.

MAKHDŪM MUHAMMAD HĀSHIM TATTAWI .

(1104 - 1174 A.H/ 1693-1761 A.D)

Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abd-'ul-Ghafūr b. 'Abd-'ul-Bahmān b. 'Abd-'ul-Latif b. 'Abd-'ul-Bahmān b. Khayr-'ul-Din- Al-¹-Sindhi, was born on 10th Rabi-'ul-Awwal 1104 A.H/1693 A.D) at Bathore (a small village in Thatta district). He belonged to 'Arab dynasty of Hārith' (Arab Qurashite) who had settled in Sindh². His father was a learned man of Sewistān and then settled in Bathore³.

Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim received his early education from his father Makhdūm 'Abd-'ul -Ghafūr and studied Qur'ān with in six months. Then he continued his further education under the guidance of Makhdūm Muḥammad Sa'eed of Thatta⁵ and he learnt Ḥadith and Qur'ān from the renowned scholar and saint Makhdūm Piya-'ul-Din of Thatta⁶. At last he became a great scholar of his time in all branches of knowledge within a short period of nine years⁷.

His father died on 1113 A.H/ 1701 A.D. When he was student, so he left Bathore and came in Behrāmpūr⁸ where he started teaching to people against the innovations. But he had to face many difficulties and due to the opposition of some of the luxurious persons he had to leave that village and therefore he shifted to Thatta⁹.

Thatta was at this period as a centre of knowledge and learning and there were many religious scholars, saints, mystics and poets of different sects and intellectual matters were discussed by them.¹⁰ According to Aitken 'Thatta could be called the University town'.¹¹

Makhdūm Muḥammad Ḥāshim was the famous scholar and the learned man of his period. He was an acknowledged authority in religious¹² matters of Sunnah. He was the voluminous writer in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi, both prose and poetry. His writings helped in removing the evil action and he devoted his whole life for the cause of 'Islām. His contemporary scholars and poets were 'Allāma 'Ab-'ul-Ḥasan Dāhīrī (d. 1178 A.H/ 1764-65 A.D.); Ḥājī Faqīr-'Ullāh 'Alavī of Shikārpur (d. 1195 A.H/ 1780-81 A.D.), Faqīr Makhdūm 'Abd-'ul- Raḥmān of Gīrhor (d. 1192 A.H/ 1778 A.D.), Shāh 'Abdul-Latīf of Bhīt (d. 1165 A.H/ 1751 A.D.), Sūfī Shāh 'Ināyat of Jhok (d. 1150 A.H/ 1717 A.D.), and Khawājā Muḥammad Zamān of Lawāri (d. 1188 A.H/ 1774 A.D.)

This renowned scholar and savant of his time died on 6th Rajab 1177 A.H/ 9th February, 1764 A.D and was buried in Makli Hill.¹³

He composed 150 books¹⁴ in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. But according to the exploration of Sayyid Ḥusām-'ul-Dīn Rāghidī the total number of his books is 138.¹⁵

We include here the list of his Persian books only -

- 1: تحفة الاخوان في منع شرب الدخان (فقه)
 - 2: مياحة القلوب في زيارة المحبوب. تصيف 1135 هـ (مطبوعاً)
 - 3: زاد السفينة لسالكى المدينة (مناسك)
 - 4: نتيجة الفكر في تحفة صدقة الفطير (فقه)
 - 5: قطع الكلام في كيفية اسقاط الصلوات الصيام تصيف 20 شوال 1133 هـ
وهي البر من رسائل العربية
 - 6: رسالة في تقدير الغسل والوضوء بموازن بلدة تته (فقه)
 - 7: رسالة في تحقيق ان الواجب على العالم المقلد اتباع المجتهد او العمل بظاهر الحديث (فقه)
 - 8: فيض الغنى في تقدير صاع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقه تصيف ربيع الاخر 1137 هـ
 - 9: جمع البواقيت في تحقيق المواقيت (فقه حنفى)
 - 10: حياة الصالحين ترجمة مظهره نوار
 - 11: مفتاح الصلوة (فقه)
 - 12: التقية الباهرة في جواز القول بالخمس الطاهرة (فقه)
 - 13: وسيلة الغريب الى جناب الجيب بشرح اسماء الرسول البشير (سيرة)
رسالة في مناقب اهل البيت
 - 14: وسيلة الفير شرح اسماء الرسول البشير صلى الله عليه وسلم (سيرة)
وهو شرح طريقة الصافي اسماء المصطفى المتقدم ذكره
رسالة في منع عن الماتم في امام
 - 15: فتح القوى في نسب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (سيرة)
 - 16: تحفة المسلمين في تقدير مصداقها المواثيق تصيف 1171 هـ (فقه تاريخ)
 - 17: رسالة في المنع عن الماتم في اياك عاشوره (منافرة)
 - 18: ذريعة الوصول الى جناب الرسول (اوراد)
 - 19: الباقيات الصالحات في ذكره زواج الطاهرات (سيرة)
 - 20: سفينة المساكين الى بلاد الله الايمن
- مختصر "حياة القلوب في زيارة المحبوب"



1. The Grave of Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim Tattavi
(Makli Hill, Thatta.)



2. The inscriptions of the Grave of
Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim Tattavi

1. Qānī :- "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā'" ; P. 841 (See also, "Takmila" of "Khalil", P. 52 ; "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi" Vol. I. of Lutfullāh Badvi, P. 252.
2. Makhdūm 'Ibrāhīm "Takmila-i-Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā'" ; "Khalil" : P. 52. (See also Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim :- "Badhil-Quwwah" (Introduction); P. 5.
3. Muḥammad Hāshim :- "Badhil-Quwwah" (Introduction) P. 5. (See also Qānī :- "Tuhfat-'ul-Kirām" Vol : III (Persian Text), P. 37. Badvi :- "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi" Vol: I ; P. 252.
4. Muḥammad Hāshim :- Op. Cit. P. 5.
5. Badvi :- "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi" Vol. I ; P. 252 (See also "Alwaheed" 1936, "Sindh 'Āzād" number ; P. 32 ; M. Siddiq "History of Sindhi Literature", Vol : I, (P. 74)-75).
(The full name of Makhdūm 'Ibrāhīm 'ul-Dīn
6. Ibid ; P. 252 (See Qānī :- "Tuhfat-'ul-Kirām" Vol : III, P. 228 M. Siddique : "History of Sindhi Literature", Vol : I, PP. 69-70) .
(The full name of Makhdūm 'Ibrāhīm 'ul-Dīn was Makhdūm 'Ajjās'ib b. Makhdūm 'Ibrāhīm b. Makhdūm Hārūn b. Makhdūm 'Ajjās'ib b. Makhdūm 'Ilyās Siddiqī from the grand-sons of Shaykh Shihāb-'ul-Dīn Siddiqī Suharwardī (d. 632 A.H/ 1234 A.D.) . His grand father Makhdūm 'Ilyās migrated from his homeland 'Irāq to Sind and settled in Waryāh Taluqa Badin. After that Makhdūm Hārūn left

waryāh and came in Thatta.

Makhdūm Diyā-'ul-Din was born in 1091 A.H/1680 A.D. at Thatta and died in 1171 A.H/1757 A.D at the age of 80 years). (Refer Op.Cit.).

7. "Alwasheed" Sindh Āzād Number; P.53.
8. The ruins of this city are still visible between Jhok and Bulri, (District Hyderābād) on the eastern side of National High way. The remains of the mosque of Makhdūm Muḥammad Hāshim are still present. (The author; M. Siddiq:- "History of Sindhi Literature" has erroneously mentioned Mehrāpur instead of 'Bahrāpur'). See Badvi :- "Tadhkirā-i-Luṭfi; Vol: I, P.252.
9. "Alwasheed" Sindh Āzād Number; P.53. "Al-Raḥeem" (Quarterly) August 1963; P.30. Badvi: Op.Cit. P.252.
10. Ibid; P.32 (See M.Siddiq :- "History of Sindhi Literature", Vol. I; P.75).
11. Aitken E.M :- "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind"; Vol.A; P.472.
12. Qāni :- "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā"; PP 841-842 (See also Muḥammad Hāshim :- "Badhil-Quwwah"; "Introduction" PP 4-5).
13. Khelil :- "Takmilā"; P.52 (See also Muḥammad Hāshim); "Badhil-Quwwah (Introduction)P.10; M.Siddiq :- "History of Sindhi Literature"; Vol. I, P.76; Badvi :- "Tadhkirā-i-Luṭfi"; Vol: I; P.255; Qāni :- "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā"; P.843 (foot-note).

- Subst: Vol. I: P. 255; and - "Madhat-ul-Shari"

MAKLI HILL :- Hill Makli is the smallest hilly tract of the mountain Khirthar. There are the tombs of Tarkhan and Arghun rulers in the north of this Hill. Religious, Persons, saints Pious men and many mystics are buried here. It is related that one Lakh and a Quarter Pious men are buried in this Hill.

It has been narrated by some People that once a devotee while going to Mecca for the Pilgrimage reached at this Hill and vouchsafed some spiritual visions. He stayed here and continued his Prayers and exclaimed: "Hadhā Makkat less," i.e. "This Hill is the Mecca for me." Thence forth he repeated these words constantly and they became common to all People. As these words were adopted by the People and they became in common usage and were changed into "Makli".

According to another legend this Hill is named after the name of a modest, Pious and a chaste woman who is buried here. Shaykh Hamid Jamali built a mosque near her death and ascribed to it the name of Makli.

(See Qani:- "Tuhfat-ul-Kiram" (Persian Text) PP. 184-185, "Makli Nams":- Annotations PP. 3-4).

14. "Khali" :- Teknills: P. 59.

15. Ibid; P. 708 (Annotations by Sayyid Husain ul-Din Rashidi).

HĀJĪ FAQĪR-'ULLĀH 'ALAVI OF SHIKĀRPUR

(1100-1195 A.H/1688 - 1781 A.D.).

Shāh Faqir-'ullāh b. Shāh 'Abd-'ul-Rehman b. Shāh Shams-'ul-Din belonged to the village of Hū¹sārki, in Qandhār. He was born in 1100 A.H/1688 A.D. He acquired Islāmic education in 'Afghānistān and in Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. He has written his birth place the Rūtās and native place the "Hūs²ārik" and "Jalālābād".

Shāh Faqir'ullāh was the disciple of Naqshbandī sect of Shaykh Muḥammad Nās'ūd Dīn-'ul-Shūhūd. He had mastery over Persian, Arabic and Pashtū languages and he was authority in Fiqh, Ḥadīth, Tafseer (exegesis) and Sūfiism. After travelling far and wide he reached in Shikārpūr and settled there.

At this time Ahmad Shāh 'Abdālī (d. 1186 A.H / 1773 A.D.) was ruling in Qandhār and Naqir Khān Brohi in Qalāt. In Sindh Miyan Sārfrāz Khān Kalhorē (d. 1191 A.D./ 1777 A.D.) swayed his rod of rule and Mahābāt Khān had possessed Makrān. These four contemporary rulers used to pay their tribute to this spiritual saint.

As Shāh Faqir-'ullāh 'Alavi had remained in Qandhār and he had acquired his education there and taught the students. There is still a mosque on his name in Qandhār which reminds the cultural and social relations of Pakistan

which reminds the cultural and social relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Past. There are sagacious and pious epistles of Shah Faqir-'ullah written to Ahmad - Shah 'Abdali and they are replete with Sufism. Four letters are written to the king, two letters to Wazir Shah Wali - Khan, and four letters to Shah Zuhrah Sulaiman, the successor to the throne.

In these letters he has advised them to know God, and speak the truth; Patience and forbearance must be born in mind. This shows his influence in the court of Ahmad Shah 'Abdali. He wrote letters to Nasir Khan (1175-1208 A.H/1761-1793 A.D.) Mahabat Khan and Sarfaraz - Khan too.

At this time there was no dearth of learning and acquiring knowledge, for there were many Madrasahs (Colleges) even in Villages. Shah Faqir-'ullah had relations with the scholars of that and those learned men had a great regard for him. Among them the prominent scholars were :-

Makhdum Mu'in Tattawi (d.1161 A.H/1748 A.D.);
Makhdum Muhammad Hashim Tattawi (d.1174 A.H/1760 A.D.)
Makhdum 'Abd-'ul-Ra'uf Hattai, (d.1199 A.H/1784-85 A.D.) of Hala Kandi (i.e. old Hale), Makhdum Muhammad 'Anin Tattawi
Shakrullah Tattawi, Sayyid Murtaqa Sewistani and Muhammad Yaqub Hala Kandi. Sayyid Muhammad Rashid b. Sayyid Muhammad

Baqā (1170-1233 A.H/1757-1817 A.D.) was the true devotee and follower of Shāh Faqir-'ullāh.

Shāh possessed a very rich library. He died on 3rd Safer 1195 A.H/1781 A.D. The following ⁸chronogram is written on his tomb:-

ولی غوث خدا حاجی فقیر اللہ
شہرہ بخلد مرجع نشین الی الدھر
وفامہ و شب و تابخ وقت و سال و مال
بگو سیر مفر نصف لیلة الاحد
۱۱۹۵ھ

He was the prolific writer in his days and he composed poems under Nom-de-Plume "Faqir". He wrote copiously on mystic and spiritual topics in Arabic, Persian and Pashtū. He has composed ¹⁰eighteen books:-

- ۱- فتح الجیل فی مدارج التکمیل (عربی) ۲- براهین النجات من مصایب الدنيا والعصاة (عربی)
- ۳- فیوضات الجید
- ۴- طریق الارشاد فی تکمیل المؤمنین ولاولاد
- ۵- منتخب الاصول
- ۶- وثیق الاکابر تصنیف ۱۱۶۵ھ
- ۷- کتب الارشاد یا مدارج عالیہ
- ۸- فتوحات الفیہ فی شرح عقاید الصوفیہ
- ۹- جواهر الادراد (عربی) ۱۰- قصیدہ مبرورہ
- ۱۱- کتاب الاذکار فی ثبوت الکنار (عربی) ۱۲- حواید فقیر اللہ طب ووظیفہ ریشو
- ۱۳- محمود الاوراد (عربی) ۱۴- شرح قصیدہ بانٹ سعاد (فارسی)
- ۱۵- ملفوظات فارسی ۱۶- ملفوظات و عملیات
- ۱۷- مکتوبات (فارسی و عربی) ۱۸- شرح ابیات مشکل مثوی (فارسی)

1. Monthly "Naseen Zindagi"; P. 8. (An article on "Faqir-'allāh 'Alevī" by 'Abd-'ul-Hayee Ḥabībī; translated into Sindhi by Mau Ḥāna Qāsmī. This original article was Published in quarterly "Serosh" (Persian) on 15.3.1958).
2. Ḥājī Faqir-'allāh 'Alevī: "Maktūbāt"; P. 27.
3. Monthly "Naseen Zindagi"; P. 9.
4. Ḥājī Faqir-'allāh: Maktūbāt; PP 110-120-271-288.
5. Ibid; PP. 270- 291.
6. Ibid; PP. 110-268-289-290.
7. "Naseen Zindagi"; P. 10.
8. Ibid; P. 11.
9. See his "Maktūbāt"; P. 287.
10. "Naseen Zindagi"; P. 11 (See also "Alwshēed" Āzād Number; P. 36.

MIR 'ABD-'UL-RASHID TATTAWI

(D. After 1169 A.D. / 1755 - 56 A.D.)

Mir 'Abd-'ul-Rashid waled 'Abd-'ul- Ghafūr Husaynī of Thatta was famous scholar of his time. He was a very fruitful writer and a poet. He is celebrated for his two valuable dictionaries,

1. Farhang-i-Rashidi, published in Calcutta in 1872-1873;
2. and Muntakhabāt-'ul-Lughāt-i-Shāh Jahānī, published in Nawil Kishore in 1891.

MIR 'ALI SHER QĀNĪ TATTAWI.

(1140A.H- 1203 A.H/ 1727 -1788 A.D.)

Mir 'Ali Sher Qānī's name was Ghulām 'Ali Sher.

His pedigree meets with Qādī Sayyid Shahr-'ullāh, who came in Sind from Shirāz in the days of Shāh Beg Arghūn (927-928 A.H/1520 -1521 A.D.).

2. Qānī: "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā", No : 451; P. 418.

This is the pedigree of Mir Qānī⁶ :-

Ghulām 'Alī Sher b. Mir 'Izzat-'ullāh (d. 1161 A.H/1748 A.D)
 b. Mir Muḥammad Kāzīm b. Mir Muḥammad Muqīm b. Mir Zaheer-'ul-
 -Dīn (II, d. 1037 A.H/ 1627 A.D) b. Sayyid Shahr-'ullāh (II)
 b. Mir Zaheer-'ul-Dīn (I) b. Qādī Sayyid Shahr-'ullāh (I)²
 Mir 'Izzat-'ullāh, the father of Mir Qānī⁶ had six sons :-

1. Sayyid Fakhr-'ul-Dīn.
2. Sayyid Yār Muḥammad.^E
3. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Amin.
4. Sayyid Muḥammad Sāleḥ. 5. Sayyid Diyā-'ul-Dīn "Diyā".^{EE}
6. Mir Ghulām 'Alī "Qānī".

Mir Qānī⁶ was born in 1140 A.H/1727 A.D. His date of birth comes from : "خلق انساناً من السلالة".

Mir Qānī⁶ acquired his education from the excellent scholars of his time and he has pointed some of the names of his tutors in "Maqālāt³-'ul-Shu'arā" viz. Miyān Ni'mat-'ullāh, Miyān Muḥammad Sādiq, Ākhūnd Muḥammad Tattawī, Ākhūnd 'Ab-'ul-Ḥasan "Bi-Takluff" Tattawī, and Mirzā Muḥammad Ja'far Shirāzi.

2. Mir 'Azīm-'ul-Dīn Tattawī (1163-1229 A.H/1749 December, 1813 A.D) nephew of Qānī⁶ was the son of Sayyid Muḥammad and he was a famous poet. He composed a Divān (Published by S.A.B. in 1962) and Mathnawī "Hir-Ma-Rānjhā" and "Fath Nāma".

EE. Diyā-'ul-Dīn (d. 1229 A.H/1813 A.D) was also a famous poet of his time. His Nom-de-plume was "Diyā". He composed a "Divān".

Qānī had keen interest in Poetry and he began to compose poems at the age of twelve years i.e. in 1152 A.H/1739 A.D. He composed a Divān consisting of about 8,000 verses, but under the force of some unavoidable circumstances, he destroyed it by throwing into water. For almost two years, he did not compose the Poetry till, in the year 1155 A.H/1742 A.D, he met with the famous poet Mir Haydar-ul-Din 'Abū Turāb "Kāmil" and started composing poems again. In the beginning he assumed the title of "Maḡharī", (according to Abjad system of value of these words coincide with the year, 1165 A.H/1742 A.D.) later on he chose his Takhalluṣ (Nom-de-Plume) as a "Qānī" which is very common as yet.

Qānī was a versatile poet and voluminous writer of his times. He was the court poet of Miẓān-Nūr-Muḥammad Kalhorā (1149-1169 A.H/ 1736-1755 A.D.) and Miẓān Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā (1170-1186 A.H/1756-1772 A.D.). His poetical works contain more than 30,000 couplets.

Qānī belonged to a well-bred family and the rulers of that times bestowed titles and stipends upon his family. During the reign of Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā, (the ruler of Sind,) Qānī was appointed to compose the history of "Abbāsiyya Dynasty" in 1175 A.H/1761 A.D. He started writing it, but could not complete the work and after one or two years he left the service and returned to Thatta. For, we find him composing "Tuhfatul Kirām" in 1180 A.H/1766 A.D. at Thatta.

It is obvious from the autobiography of Qānī¹⁰ that he had passed his whole life in Thatta, except the travel of Sūrat, Kachh, Ahmedābād and Jhūnā Garh. He continued his literary contributions at the age of twelve years i.e. 1152 A.H/1739 A.D till 1203 A.H/1788 A.D, when he died. He has enriched Sind with his literary activities both in Persian Poetry and Prose. According to the catalogue of Persian, (British Museum) O.R.No.2073, catalogue of Thatta library, and Maqālāt-'ul-shu'arā; the number of his books is estimated 43.

Mir Qānī¹¹ was a "Tafqily Shi'a" (Pre-eminent Shi'a) although he has traced his chain to the sect of Naqshbandi mystics, we find that he was orthodox and far sighted Person in theology. Following verses depict his farsightedness in religious:-¹²

چو رافضی نکلم سرد دل بیخیز کسی
ز یار یار دین دهر گره مخمل مامت
(مقالات شعراء (ص 605)

بهر شکم بخویش غایبند شیوه نام
حیدر پچشم شان ست مگر "حیدر کلپیچ"
(مقالات شعراء (ص 608)

خارمی را بنور علم الهی معلوم
خبر از شهر چه دار که ز در میگذرد
(مقالات شعراء (ص 619)

بنور عجبیب بهشت اصفاف رافضی
که دل تو کرد کینه اصحاب شیشه ایم
(مقالات شعراء (ص 637)

ز بفض و ممت امری بیش و کم بر ابروی آرام
بود چون چار عنصر اعتدال مهر اصحاب
(مقالات شعراء (ص 638)

Sayyid 'Izzatullah, the father of Mir Qānī⁶ died in 1161 A.H/ 1748 A.D. At that time Qānī⁶ was a young man of 21 years old. He wrote a couplet on his father's death.¹⁴

خرد گشت تاریخ سالی وفات
لد پیوست بارحمت ایزدی (۱۱۶۱ هـ)

When he learnt that Chitr Bhowj Munshi had already composed a couplet (1160 A.H) "برحمت ایزدی پیوست" on the death of Qānī Muḥammad 'Ameen. So, he searched out the rhyme from the Holy Qur'ān and rectified the fore said rhyme :-²²

لله العزت والرسول وللمومنين (۱۱۶۱ هـ)

Mir Qānī⁶ died at the age of 64, in the years 1203 A.H/1788 A.D. We find that he completed three books in 1203 A.H/1788 A.D. Viz :

- (a) Tasmār-i-Salāsīl Guzīdā ;
- (b) Shujra-i-'Athar 'Aḥad Bayt,
- (c) Mi'yār-i-Sālekān-i-Tarīqat,

He was buried at the Makli Hill in his family grave-yard.²²²
Mir Qānī⁶ had three sons :-

1. Sayyid Mir 'Ameer 'Alī born in 1171 A.H/1757 A.D.
2. Shujā' born in 1174 A.H.

2. See "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā" :- Qānī⁶; P.163, No :173 Chitr Bhowj.

22. لله العزة ورسوله وللمؤمنين (سورة المنافقون پارہ ۲۸ رکع ۱۳)

222. For details see "Introduction" by Sayyid Ḥusām-ul-Dīn Rāshidī in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā"; pp 25-26; and "Mehraṇ" pp.131-132 No.2, 1955, S.A.B., Hyderabad.

EE

2. Ghulām 'Alī born in 1181 A.H/1767 A.D.
3. Ghulām Waliyullah born in 1184 A.H/1770 A.D.

EEE.
HIS WORKS.

1. DIVĀN 'ALĪ SHĒR :- Qānī' composed this Divān at the tender age of 12 years i.e. 1152 A.H/1739 A.D. This Divān contained 8,000 verses but he threw it into the river.
2. MATHNAVI SHAMA-I-'AZ-QUDRAT-I-ḤAQQ :- (1165 A.H/1751 A.D.).

We find the date of composition of the book from its name, but there is no copy of its manuscript any where. Some of the verses are given in "Maqālāt-ul-shu'arā" at P.584.

3. MATHNAVI QADĪ-WA-QADR :- (1167 A.H/1753 A.D.). The date of composition of this Mathnavi comes from, "گل از بهار قضا". He composed this Mathnavi at the desire of Raḡn Nighat Shīrī. One copy of this manuscript is in the library of Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad. Qānī' has given some extracts of its verses in "Maqālāt-ul-shu'arā" at P.578. There are 333 verses in this Mathnavi. The first couplet begins :-

شنیدم روزی از آزاد مردی
بیای بی خودی صحرای نوردی

EE. Among them Mir Ghulām 'Alī "Mā'il" (1181-1251 A.H/1767-1835 A.D.), was the famous poet and his poems "Kulyāt-i-Mā'il" has been published by Sindhi Adabi Board in 1959, Edited by Mahmūd Ahmad 'Abbāsī and Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Rāghidī.

EEE. This account has been taken from Qānī' :- "Maqālāt-ul-shu'arā" (Introduction); PP.7 to 22.

EEEE. Qānī' :- Op.cit. p.819.

The last couplet is :-

سخن کوته ملالی بر میفزای
بیاقانع قلم رمان بر خای

4. NAD-AL-IB-I-KHAYALAT :- (1169 A.H/1755 A.D.).

The date of compilation of this book too comes from its name. Qenī¹⁶ says that this book was in Prose, except some of the sentences which has been given in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā". The manuscript of this book is not traceable anywhere.

5. MATHNAVI QISA-I-KANEDP :- (1169 A.H/1755 A.D.).

This mathnavi has 5,000 verses, but it is not found. Some of its verses are given in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā" at P.573.

6. DIVĀN-I-QĀL-I-GHAM :- (1171 A.H/ 1757 A.D.).

The date of its compilation comes from its name. It contained 9,000 distiches Ghazeliyāt, Mukhamis, and Tarji¹⁷; but there is no copy of its manuscript.

7. SĀQĪ NĀMA :- (1174 A.H/1760 A.D.).

There is no complete manuscript of this book. Some of the extracts are written in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā" at P.585.

8. NĀQĀT HRDARAT SHĀH :- (1174 A.H/1760)

There are 1,000 distiches in this book, but no manuscript is found. Some of the distiches are given in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā" at P.586.

9. CHIHAR MANZILA :- (1174 A.H/1760 A.D.).

This mathnawi contained 1,000 distiches, but no manuscript is found. Some extracts have been given in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu‘arā" at P.585.

10. "TAZVEEJ NĀMA-I-HUSN-WA-‘ISHQ" :- (1174 A.H/1760 A.D.).

This book was in Prose, but it is not found any where.

11. "ASH‘AR-I-MUTFAREQA DAR SANĀYA‘-WA-TĀRIKH :-

(1174 A.H/ 1760 A.D.).

There are 1,000 distiches in this book and Qāni ‘ has mentioned about this book in "Maqālāt-ul-Shu‘arā" at P.572.

12. BŪSTĀN-I-BAHĀR alias MAKLI NĀMA :- (1174 A.H/1760 A.D.).

The date of its compilation comes from "بوستان بهار".

"تازہ دل". It is a little treatise in Poetry and

rythmical Prose and deals with the tombs of Makli Hill grave yard. It was firstly published with an appendix in quarterly Magazine "Mehrān" No.3 & 4; 1956 by Sayyid Husām-ul-Din Rāshidi. But considering its importance, it has ~~given~~ been published by the Sindhi Adabi Board in 1967. Sayyid Husām-ul-Din Rāshidi has edited it and an appendix has been written which contains 743 Pages where as the text contains 96 Pages. Besides this it contains 136 Plates and the genealogical tables have ~~also~~ been included. Infact this treatise mentions

most of the important historical facts, and Sayyid Husam-ul-Din Rashedi has industriously and laboriously searched out the material and he completed it after nine¹⁷ years. According to ^{him} ~~Sayyid Husam-ul-Din Rashedi~~, the "Makli Nama" is the third book, which expresses about some¹⁸ of the remains and tombs of Makli Hill in a rythmical form. After an appendix this treatise has become the source of historical facts and the scholars can get an enough material from it about the remains and tombs of Makli Hill as well as the rulers, governors and Lords, etc from it.

13. NAQ'AT-ul-SHU'ARA (1174 A.H/1760 A.D.)

This is an anthology of Persian Poets. It is composed in an alphabetical order of their poetical names, and contains the short notices of 719 Poets, both indigeneous and outsiders who came in Sind. Sayyid Husam-ul-Din-Rashedi has edited it and he has written foot-notes consulting the most authentic historical books and treatises and he remarks, " At that time there were only two memoirs ;

- (1) Tadhkira-i-yad-i-Bedā by Mir Ghulam 'Ali "Āzād" Balgrāmi composed in 1145 A.H/1732 A.D in Sehwan;

(2) ²Kalemāt-³ul-Shu⁴arā, by Sarkhus (Molvi) written in about 1093 A.H/1682 A.D. It seems that these biographies might have induced Qānī⁶ to compose the memoirs of poets of Sind¹⁹.

We find that this is the first book, which contains the anthology of Persian poets of Sind and the present volume explains even a minute things in foot-notes. Sayyid Husām-²ul-Din Rāshidī³ endeavour in editing and composing foot-notes is laudable.

14. TĀRIKH-I-⁴ABBĀSIYA :- (1175 A.H./1761 A.D.)

This the history of 'Kalhorā dynasty' written on the desire of Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā (1170-1186 A.H/1756-1772 A.D). But this remained incomplete, and no copy of this manuscript is available. As quoted by Sayyid Husām-²ul-Din-Rāshidī that it is written in the catalogue of Persian (British Museum) O.R.No.2073, about this history that a copy of this book was in the library of Qānī⁶'s descendants²⁰. This history contained two parts, one was in prose and the other was in poetry. The latter comprised of 20,000 distiches.

15. TĀRIKH-I-⁴ABBĀSIYA :- (poetry) 1175 A.H/1761 A.D.

It is obvious from the above that this book contained 20,000 distiches. But it remained incomplete.

Qāni' had depicted the detailed account of 'Kalhorā dynasty' in these two books, so he wrote an abridged account of Kalhorās in "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām", volume III, as

21

he says :-

« ذکرشان در طبق المجد میگردد، و بنا بر مزید فایده و ادای حقوق ملک ذکر از اصل مع بیان بزرگان این سلسله مجملًا گذارش میکند .

16. TUHFAT-UL-KIRĀM (in three volumes) - 1181 A.H/1767 A.D.

Volume I :- It contains the account of (1) Prophets (2) Kings; (3) Philosophers, Saints, Poets, and great men before the time of Muhammad (Peace be upon him), (4) The Four Imāms, (6) celebrated Descendants of the Four Imāms, (7) The Umayyade Khalifās, (8) The 'Abbāsī Khalifās; including Egyptian Khalifās and the warriors, great men of that period.

22

Sayyid Husām-ul-Dīn writes that the present

published 86 Pages of volume I are not of "Tuhfat-ul-Kirām"; but they are of "Mirrāt-i-Ahmadi" Volume II; which was published in 1307 A.H/1866 A.D at Fath-ul-Karīm Press Bombay. The Owners of this Press might have mixed up these 86 Pages with the rest volumes I & II of Tuhfat-ul-Kirām."

Volume II :- General History, with notices of philosophers, nobles ministers, and other great men.

Volume III :- This volume deals exclusively with Sindh, its rulers, saints and scholars, from ancient times down to the reign of the Kalhorās. This volume is the latest, so it is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories

of Sind.

This work begins with the dynasties of Rāis and Brahmins; the conquest of Arabs. It is an abridged from Chach Nāma. Then there are the legends, the governors, who had been appointed by the kings of Delhi; the Sūmrās and the Samnās; Arghūns, Terkhāns and their nobles; the imperial governors under the Timūrians, and governor of Thatta, from 1002 A.H/ 1593 A.D. to 1149 A.H./1736 A.D. Rule of the Kalhorā, Abbāsīya family from its origin to 1188 A.H/1774 A.D. In the end, the enumerations of the Saints, Seers, Sayyids, Shaykhs, poets and calligraphists of Sind have been included beginning with Multān and closing with Thatta.²

This volume is published at Nāgri Press Delhi, in 1304 A.H/ 1889 A.D.²²

E. Catalogue of Persian MSS in the British Museum, Vol.II, Rieu London, 1881; P.847-ADD 21489.

22. The Micro-Film copy ADD.21589 of this manuscript is in the Library of the Sindhi Adabi Board Hyderabad (Sind) and Sayyid Husām-'ul-Din-Rāghidī is editing it and it will soon be published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad.

There is a chronogram in the end of the book :-

شکر خدا کہ تذکرہ تحفۃ الکرام - اندر سہ مہلہ یافتہ ترین اختتام
 مرحلہ اوست روضہ انبار دلکش - نظارہ کیش مفت تنویر دیدہ شاد کام
 "قاف" اگرچہ نسبت سب از دلخیز - لیکن بقیض اہل خبر یافت این مرام
 باشد کہند اہل دلش یاد بعد مرگ - یعنی کہ یادگار نگو مانند مستحکم
 سال تمامیت چو نمود از خرد سوال - اینک چہ منتخب ز دل آمد مرا پیار
 شکر خدا کہ یافتہ ترین انتخاب - این "تحفۃ الکرام" بآئین انتخاب
 سال تمامیت چو نمود ز دل سوال - دعائے زدند کہ "نوائین انتخاب"
 ۱۱۸۱ھ

17. MATHNAVI 'ALAN-I-GHAM :- (1192 A.H/1778 A.D.).

The name of this mathnavi is given in the
 contents, catalogue of Persian manuscripts (British Museum)
 23
 O.R.No.2073. The writer of the contents says that this
Mathnavi contained 11733 distiches.

18. ZUNDAULUQ-MANAQIB :- (1192 A.H/1778 A.D. Poetry.

It contained 1,200 distiches.

19. MUKHTAR NAMA :- (1194 A.H/1780 A.D.).

This book contains the life sketch of Mukhtār Thaqfi.
 There are 8,000 distiches in it. The copy of its manuscript
 is in the Library of Sindhi Adabi Board Hyderabad (Sind).
 The first distich is :-

بنامِ جہان داور کردگار
 کہ بر قدرتِ اوست مختار کار

The last distich shows the date of compilation of the book :-

بہائی باین مشیت وعتلا
بحق محمد بآل وعبا

20. Higābul - Balagh :- (1198 A.H/ 1783 A.D.).

This is very important book on the life of man. It contains idioms and phraseology and it can be called Qānūn (Dictionary). The following contents of the book depict its importance :-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ۱۵ : اصناف قلبیہ - | ۱ : علم طب و متعلقات او - |
| ۱۶ : برپائی و غیر آن - | ۲ : اسمای اغصاء - |
| ۱۷ : اقسام آتش - | ۳ : اسباب غذا - |
| ۱۸ : اقسام کشک - | ۴ : ذکر آب و زمین - |
| ۱۹ : اقسام اچار - | ۵ : اجناس غلہ - |
| ۲۰ : اقسام اچار - | ۶ : اقسام اسبزی و قول - |
| ۲۱ : اقسام حلویات و مالیدہ - | ۷ : موسم کاشت - |
| ۲۲ : الوان تان - | ۸ : ذکر لحوم - |
| ۲۳ : اوقات طعام خوردن - | ۹ : ذکر شجر متعلقاتش - |
| ۲۴ : حیوانات پرستینہ - | ۱۰ : عطریات و عقاقیر - |
| ۲۵ : چرم دوزی و آلات آن - | ۱۱ : طعام - |
| ۲۶ : لباس پشمینی - | ۱۲ : اقسام فواکہ - |
| ۲۷ : لباس نفیس پشمینی - | ۱۳ : آلات و ادویات طبخ - |
| ۲۸ : آلات ندف - | ۱۴ : اقسام پلاو - |
| ۲۹ : آلات جولاہی - | |
| ۳۰ : الوان اقسامہ و اجناس آن - | |
| ۳۱ : صباغی و الوان آن - | |
| ۳۲ : اقسام کسوات - | |
| ۳۳ : پاپوشہا - | |
| ۳۴ : اقسام متفرق جامہا - | |

35 آلات درزی و کتیده کاری

36 در عمارت

37 در و گری

38 ألوان عمارت رنستانى تابستانى

39 لواز مغانه

40 جیوان خانه داری

41 تجملات خانه از فروش و مرکب

42 در بیان طيور

43 لواز و شهریت

44 لواز و ترتیب شهر

45 اهل فرمت

46 تجارت و بیع و شری

47 اسباب حکومت و منعلقات آن

48 مناصب و القاب عهده داران

49 شعیل و دفاتر

50 ضوابط و قواعد در اسماء اصطلاحات

51 الفاظ متعارف

52 تاهل و تناکح و تولد

53 آرایش عروس

54 دامادی و مصیبت

55 لواز و مولود

56 ابتدای حمل

57 لواز و طفل

58 بازی های اطفال

59 تغلیب و تغلب اطفال

60 اصطلاحات علوم

61 شعر و شاعری

62 آداب دبیری

63 علم لغت

64 قواعد مسامت

65 ضوابط علم نجوم

66 اسماء منازل ماه

67 تقسیم منازل بر بروج

68 سال عربی

69 عدد ابیات سال فارسی

70 ماه های بحساب شمس

71 ماه های سنه های و نام های فارسی

72 لوازمات سواری

73 اسلحه حرب

74 جانوران شکاری

75 حیوانات

76 طيور خورده و غیر آن

77 تشرب و اقسام آن

78 اوقات تشرب

79 تقنی و اوقات آن

80 لغات اهل فرس

81 بیان سی لحن

82 نام سراینده و سازها

83 لغات اهل هند

84 سیاحت و سیر

85 مفت جبال

86 لواز و بحار و مرکب

87 جانوران آبی و اقسام ماهی

88 حشرات موزی و غیر هم

89 اشجار و نباتات

90 اوقات و جهات و اماکنه

This book contains 185 Pages and the copy of this manuscript written by author, is in the possession of Maulānā Muḥammad 'Ibrāhīm Garhiyāsini. In the end, the author writes :-

”دکاتبہ و مولفہ، روز عینیس چہار دہم ربیع ۱۱۹۵ھ“

21. MATHNAVI KHATM-UL-SULŪK :- (1199 A.H/1784 A.D.).

The date of its compilation comes from "Khatm-ul-Sulūk". This Mathnavi contains the mystries and epigrams on mysticism. There are 286 Pages in it and every Page has 15 lines. There is an introduction, 21 discourses and the conclusion.

The first distich is :-

من کہ باشم تازمندم آرتنا
چون بلا اقصی محمد زد ندا

The last distich is :-

ہاتف این جاوید خوش گارم چو دید
سال وی گفتا بود "ختم السلوک" (۱۱۹۹ھ)

The copy of this manuscript, written by author is in the library of the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad (Sind). Sayyid Ḥusām-ud-Din Rāghidī has given the details of its contents in the "Introduction" of "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā'" at Pages 15-16-17.

22. TAUMĀR-I-SALĀSIL GUEIDA :- (1202 A.H/1787 A.D.)

The title of the book expressess its date of compilation. It is written on the ṣūfis (mystics) of Sind and their pattern. It is very useful book on the mystics of Sind.

The copy of its manuscript is in the library of the Sindhi Adabi Board.

23. SHUJRA-I-'ATHAR-I-'AHAL BAYT - (1202 A.H/1787 A.D.).

The book contains the genealogical tree and the account of the Sayyids of Sind. But no copy of this manuscript is available. He had written this book at the age ^{of} 64.

Qānī says in the introduction of "Mi'yār-i-Sālekān-i-Tariqat" :-
 "در سال دویم و دوازده صحرایی که آفتاب عمر لب بام و سبق حیات قریب باختاد،
 شصت و سه سال از عمر رفت. و امراض چند طیبت را رفت، اول شجره امل
 بیت سند و غیره بقدر دریافت نوشتند، ثانیاً طوماری در
 ذکر اسمای سلاسل گزیده طریقت بگاشت، تاریخ اقل "شجره"
 اهدا امل بیت "و تاریخ ثانی، طومار سلاسل گزیده" دست داد."

24. MI'YĀR-I-SĀLEKĀN-I-TARIQAT - (1202 A.H/1787 A.D.)

This work was composed, when the author had nearly completed his 63rd years. It contains the account of one thousand celebrated spiritual person and the author has given the date of their death. The author gives the account of renowned persons of Sind as well as the famous foreign religious Shaykhs.

The book has an introduction, treating of the 'vilāyat', or saintship, and 12 selections termed "Mi'yār"

22
on the following Subjects :-

1. Holy men of the first century, namely, the first four Khelifās the uncle and cousins of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), his principal companions, the first three Imāms and their children.
2. Holy men of the second century, including especially, the founders of the fourteen Khānvādās or religious families.

The book begins :-

”منت خدا ایرامزوجل که بنوی هدایت انتما فاذ کرونی اذکر کم جماعه
خاص را مسوی خود خوانند مرکب چهار سالکان مسلک یقین بنام مایه جاهد
وفی سبیلہ در میران طریقت رانده بر زبان وصی نزهان بنی کریم علیہ
افضل الصلوة وکمل التسلیم نصر ان کنتم تحبون الله فاتبعونی
یحکم الله جاری نموده تاهر طالب براه شریعت المهر البی پی بمنزل
”حیت حق که حقیقت عبارت از آنست برد بامر واجب التقی
ولا تدع مع الله الها واحد جامعه شرق ماسوی برتن هستی پی
بقایه پنجه پرواز نیستی برد الخ“

The author says, that in the conclusion he has written the account of those famous persons who were not living in his

24
period. Thus he says in the introduction :-

بالجملة عقده حافظر آن ماند که مشائخ زمان بقید زمان و مکان
وانتساب سلاسل واصحاب ببیان آرد این رساله موجر حاوی
آن مقصد شده و تا بخش در اسم و معیار سالکان

22. Catalogue of Persian Mss in the British Museum;
Vol. II; Rieu, London 1881; P. 847; II Fol. 539-447.

23. Catalogue of Persian Mss in the British Museum: Vol.
II, Rieu, London 1881, P. 847; II Fol. 539-447.

طریقت، مبرهن آنکه صریح وی بتحریر سال وفات معلوم شریبهم
عصران الحاقش کرده و اگر در حقیقت مابین زیادتى و کمى
دلا بیست بوده باشد مقصد آنکه گویند
فدائی در زمانه فلان بوده، یا بفدائی صحبت
کرده و آنرا که ازین اطلاعى نشد در خانه ثبت کرده
..... الخ

This work ends :- تاریخ این رساله برای عیار طریقت

"عیار سالکان طریقت" نوشته شد (۱۲۵۲ هـ)

The manuscript of this work, written in 1246 A.H/1830 A.D.,

for Mir Nured'Ali Khān Tālpur (d. 1249 A.H/1833 A.D.), is in the

British Museum ADD. 21580 and the Micro-Film copy of the

same is in the Library of the Sindhi Adabi Board Hyderabad

(Sind).

25. RAUDAT-UL-'ANBIYĀ :-

The date of its compilation is not known. Its name
is given in the Thatta Library. This work is Poetry.

26. ZEENAT-UL-'AKHLĀQ :- (POETRY) .

This work contains the admonitions.

27. GHOVTHIYA :- (POETRY) .

It is on the knowledge of mysticism.

2. Sayyid Husām-ud-Din Rāshidī is editing this work and
it will be published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad.

28. MATHNAVI - QASAB NAMA :- (Poetry).

29. MIZAN-UL-AFKAR :- (Poetry).

30. TADHHEER-I-TABAT :-

31. SARFRAZ NAMA :-

The work is dedicated to Miyan Sarfraz, the ruler of Sind. It contains the good advices.

32. HADIQA-I-GHALBA :- (1161 A.H/ 1748 A.D.).

This work is the collection of various poems of Persian poets. The copy of this manuscript is in the Library of the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad (Sind). It contains 262 pages.

33. MATHNAVI KAN -I- JAWAHIR :-

There is no detailed account in the contents of Mir
25
Ma'il.

34. MIZAN-I-FARSI :-

No detailed account is written.

35. RISALA-I-MULFANA-I-SHARAH :- (Poetry and Prose).

36. IUBB-I-TARIKH-I-KALHORA :-

This name has been written in the contents of Mir
Ma'il. It appears the third book on this topic.

37. BA'YAD-I-MAHKI-'UL-SHU'ARAH :-

This is the collection of poems of different poets on the style of "Mahk-i-Kamāl" by 'Muhsin Tattawi' (d. 1163 A.H / 1749 A.D.). The copy of its manuscript, written by the author is in the library of the Sindhi Adabi Board; but there is no beginning and the conclusion in it.

38. DIVAN-I-'ASH'AR :-

Its name has been written in the contents of Mir Mā'il, but no copy of its manuscript is available.

39. QASĪD-WA-MANQABAT :-

This work had been given by the author in "Makli Nāma". Sayyid Husām-'ul-Din Rāghidī has edited this work, naming as a "Mathnaviyāt and Qasīd-i-Qāni".

40. 'INSHĀ-I-QĀNI :-

This is a very little treatise of 32 pages, written by the author. The copy of this manuscript is in the Sindhi Adabi Board.

2. "Divān-i-Muhsin-i-Tattawi" is published by the Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad in 1963; edited by Muhammad Habibullah Rāghidī.

EE. Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi, 1961.

41. MATHEVI MAHABAT NAMA :-

It contains 159 distiches and there is discussion between sham (a candle) and Parvāna (a moth) .

The mathnevi begins :-

سزاوارتنایست آن خداوند
که دلهارا بر لھا داد پیوند

The last distich is :-

تو هم بر سیر این نوحه عزب کن
دمی جنتم بآن دخت عجب کن

(42-43) In the contents of Mir Nā'il the names of these two works have been erased and they are not legible.

SOME EXTRACTS FROM ^ETUHA^FFATUL-KIRĀM ; VOLUME III.

26
THE SINDHIAN ORDEAL OF FIRE .

Some customs have obtained from of old among the inhabitants of Sind, which although they spring from ignorance, their practice is specially observed by them.

When a Person is suspected of any grave offence, and desires to purge himself of the charge, he offers to pass through the flames of a large fire, like a Samander, and

2. These extracts have been taken from "The History of India as told by its own historians" Vol: II, Elliot and Dowson; (P.P. 79 to 86 and PP.96 to 102).

come out of it unharmed, like Khalil. In the story of Sāsū'i and Māru'i we shall have an instance of this ordeal.

Another ordeal, still practised among the most ignorant, is that of taking up a red-hot spade, and this will also be noticed in the story of Māru'i. Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several places quickly; and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of the red-hot iron, although when cast to the ground it scorched it like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain. Verily this is by the virtue of truth, for it otherwise, how is it that such fire does not burn the hand?

A modern story runs thus :- A woman stole a pair of shoes belonging to the wife ^{of} a certain horseman, but denied the theft. When the time approached for undergoing the ordeal of the hot iron, she artfully concealed the shoes in a basket filled with cotton; and making it seem as if the carrying that were her business at the moment, entered the assembly, and handing it to the horseman's wife, asked her to take charge of it during the ordeal. She then said, "The truth is, I did find a pair of shoes belonging to so and so, and I have made them over to the owner; by the same token I now take up this red-hot spade. She took it up unharmed, and

was then purged of the charge. The complainant then angrily threw the basket on the ground, and, as Truth is sure to prevail, the trick of this woman was exposed.

THE ORDEAL OF WATER.

A stout post is fixed in deep water, the accused is then told to dive to the bottom, and stay by the post. One of the company shoots an arrow back. The post is then shaken; if the accused be innocent, he will, up to that time, by holding his breath, have been able to remain at the bottom, and on this signal he will come up to the surface. But if guilty, he cannot any how stay so long under water.

INCANTATIONS.

Furthermore, several of the people of this country practise magic and incantations. For instance, they can roguishly transfer their neighbour's curds to their own stock, as the following instance will show. A respectable man relates that he was the guest of a woman residing in a village, and that she had put the curds of the milk of one cow. However, about the time she was going to make the butter, she stepped over to a neighbour's house on pretence of fetching fire, and there the woman of the house had a large dish of curds before her, which she was preparing to make into butter; the witch wrought her spells, and retraced her steps, and from

the curds of the milk of her one cow she made about ten times the usual quantity of butter!

OSTEOMANCY.

The science called Shāns (Comb) is known to some of the hill people, who are called "Mānsing". From certain indications on a fresh shoulder-blade they learn what they wish to know, and it comes to pass accordingly. A Party of hill men, driven from their homes by fear of their enemy were pursuing their way. Having yet gone but a little distance, the Mānsing said that he saw from his Shāns that they were hotly pursued by troops, and that there was no escape by artifice. The Party were ordered to empty all the leathern water-bags on the ground, and then to pass over the spot. It so chanced that a Mānsing was also among the enemy's forces; he, too, consulted his Shāns for intelligence of the fugitives. It showed him that they had crossed over a stream. This disheartened the pursuers, who turned back, and thus the former were saved. This is but a slight illustration of what this tribe can do by the use of the Shāns.

Another Custom----- Several rupees, confusedly entangled, are thrown on to the ground, and their unravelment reveals secret things.

OTHER SINDIAN CUSTOMS : - LIVER EATERS -TRACKERS .

ORNITHOCRITICS .

There are also women who feed on liver, and foretell things to come, as will be shown in the history of Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī .

Again, there is the science of Jogni ; this is chiefly in vogue with women. An example of it will be shown in the history of Rāī Dāhir .

There is a tribe entitled Bawaratiya ; who go about in the guise of beggars, Professing to explain mysteries and Past events, and there by deceive men. They also make predictions of the future, which seldom come true .

Some men are so skilful in the art of tracking foot-prints, that they can tell whether they belong to men or women, strangers or acquaintances, old or young ; so also they can distinguish the prints of horses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes . They can pursue the tracks of thieves over hills and through deserts, and possibly they can even follow them through water .

Again, there is a tribe in the Kach district, who can prognosticate good or evil from the call of the Partridge, and they can likewise Predict the good or bad fortune of travellers from the cries and calls of other birds and beasts .

A Person relates - " I was journeying with a Party, one of whom said, ' I must hurry on; do you follow at your convenience, for I find, from the cry of a bird, that guests have arrived at my house, and also that such and such a friend has just died' _____ and, indeed, so it proved".

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THE STORY OF SASSU'I AND PUNNŪN.

A Brahman named Naniya, (Tāniya) and his wife Mundhar, People of consideration, who dwelt at Bhambarswah, subject to the authority of Dalū Rāi, were desirous of having a child born to them. After a while they were blessed with a daughter, the envy of the full moon. It was revealed to her Parents that she was destined to be married to a Muslimān. Dreading this family disgrace, the Parents, with wounded hearts, enclosed that unique Pearl in a box ___ her shell, as it were ___ and cast it into the river. The current chanced to carry it to the city of Bhambur, where there lived a washerman named Nahiya, who was also styled Lālā; he had 500 apprentices, but not one child. When the box came into some of the apprentices' Possession, they took it to their master, who opened it, and this moon of God's Power shone out therefrom. He called her Sassi, which signified "moon", and adopted her as his own. As she grew up, the lancet of her love pierced the hearts of beauty's flower-cullers. Every one who saw her wished she was his own, and all people

surrendered their hearts to her; where-ever she seated himself men crowded round her like the cluster of the Pleiades, and hovered around her like the constellation of the Eagle. At that time the caravans of Kech and Makrān arrived in those Parts with a variety of merchandize, and the Praises of this "Piece of the moon" were conveyed to the ears of Punnūn, son of the Chief of Kech. He lost his heart, and repaired to Bhambur in the guise of a merchant, where he saw Sassi, and was much enamoured. By good fortune the seeker found a Place in the heart of the sought; then in the hope of meeting her, he became one of her father's apprentices, and dressed himself as a washerman. I leave out many incidents to avoid prolixity; but the short of it is that Sassi returned his love with more than equal ardour.

A goldsmith's wife, who longed to gratify her smorous inclinations, sought to bring about the separation of these two lovers, by exciting Punnūn's jealousy. The devoted Sassi came out of it unsullied, like gold from the raging fire, and became an example to the world. After a while these two lovers were married. Punnūn's father on learning this, desired his other sons to bring back the infatuated one by some means or other. They went and had an interview with Punnūn, and became his guests. At nightfall, without his waking, they bound him on a camel, and set off

towards their own country. Towards morning Sassi awoke, and found that she had been robbed of her living treasure. No longer mistress of herself she tore her garments in despair, and set off alone in quest of her lost one. With the fest of affection she traversed the rugged hills, and after accomplishing a distance of about forty kos, she fell exhausted from thirst, and was convulsed, striking her feet on the ground in the agony of death. By the power of God a pool full of water was produced, of which she drank, and found fresh strength. Persons say that the pool remains full of water to this day, and is never dry, even though no rain should fall for years. It is said, that Sassi had seen these things, in a dream, on the night on which she was presented with henna, (at her marriage). The branch of henna which she had slept with in her hand according to custom, and which she retained after she awoke, and which she carried with her, she now planted on this hill; by the power of God the branch grew to be a tree, and still remains a monument of that bleeding heart.

Not to be tedious, after being thus refreshed, Sassi hurried forward, and accomplished six or seven kos further through the same hills and she was again distressed by thirst. A shepherd accidentally espied her from a distance, and cast longing eyes on her, and approaching, desired to carry her off. There upon she upbraided him with

injustice, and requested that he would, at least, procure some refreshment for her, thirsty and tired as she then was, before taking her off. The shepherd hastened to his flock to get some milk. While this was going on, Sassi, who despaired of finding any trace of her lover, and finding herself thus fallen into evil, vented the anguish of her heart before the Almighty (who is the comforter of the helpless), and put up a petition for protection against that demon of the desert. Instantly, by the divine power, the hill was rent asunder, and gave a place to that half dead and stricken lover, like a ruby lying in the matrix; and, as a warning and memorial, a corner of her scarf was left visible. When the Shepherd returned with the milk, and saw this instance of Divine power, he repented himself, and raised a tomb of stones over her, according to custom.

The tellers of love stories, which cut the heart like sharp diamonds, relate that when Punnūn, all in chains, was carried before his father, his restlessness began to show itself to such a degree that his father was alarmed for his life, and, there being no help for it, he desired his brothers to go with him, and in any way that could be managed, restore his beloved to him. As they were travelling back, Punnūn arrived at the place where Sassi was entombed, and seeing the fresh traces, stood amazed. The mutual attraction of hearts revealed this to him. For outward evidence

he set about inquiring into the circumstances. The shepherd before spoken of happened to arrive just then, and related everything as it had occurred. Punnūn instantly dismounted from his camel, and begged his brothers to wait one moment, as he wished to pay a pilgrim's visit to this tomb. Then, having thrown himself upon it, he cried aloud to the Almighty, beseeching that he might be joined to his love. As no Petitioner before God is ever left without hope, so by His Power the hill at once opened and admitted Punnūn. He and his mistress were thus encased, as it were, like twin almonds in one shell. The loves of these two, both lovers and both beloved, are still chanted in verses by the Sindians, at a place called Husayni, and people thus seek and find a mode by which they may soar from wordly affection to spiritual love. In truth, this narrative has a wonderful effect on the hearers and narrators, and Mir Ma'qūm, of Bhakhar, has wrought it into a poem, entitled "Hush-o-Nāz" (or beauty and blandishment), and Qadī Murtaḍā Sorthī, a resident of the village of Katiana, composed a poem, of a peculiar rhythm, on it in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Badshāh. He relates this story :- A Darwesh named 'Ismā'il, an inhabitant of Multān, came on a pilgrimage to see these two wonderful persons of the world of love and affection, and having left his camel at a distance, sat down and fasted three days, in the hope of seeing the two lovers. At the

and of that time an old woman appeared to him, bringing some bread and water, but he flatly refused to eat or drink till he had seen Sassi and Punnūn. She replied that she was Sassi and desired him not to expect to see Punnūn, for there was no dependance to be placed on things of this world, and that she was harassed by her kindred, who had reduced her to that condition. The Darwesh said - "How can I believe this, for Sassi was young and beautiful, and thou art an old crone". On these words, she was transfigured to her pristine beauty and youth, and she bade him eat something. The Darwesh said, "I will rather die of hunger than eat before I have seen both of you: thus have I vowed". After repeated adjurations, Sassi descended into the grave, and showed Punnūn as far as waist, but she herself encircled him all the while with both arms, for fear some one should carry him off. In short, many elders of pure heart have thus seen them. That road is not possible for any one riding a camel; but whosoever keeps awake by night at the tomb, is feasted by an unseen hand, notwithstanding that the place is an utter desert.

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THE STORY OF MUMAL AND MENDRĀ.

One of the most remarkable events of his (Hamir Sumrā's) time is the story of Mūmal and Mendrā, which is told thus: A woman named Mūmal, of the family of the Gujer chiefs, on

the death of her father, ruled over his lands, and built a lofty Palace on the outskirts of the city outside which she by magic art, conducted a stone canal like a river across the entrance of the Palace; and she planted two life-like lions of terrible aspect, cut in stone, at the doorway, and within the ordinary sitting-room seven sofas were placed covered with stuff of one design, six of which coverings were made of unspun thread, and underneath each sofa a deep well was dug. She then caused it to be given out that she would choose for her husband him who should pass the river and the lions, and sagaciously seat himself on the right seat. Many men were tempted to a trial, but none attained their object; nay, they stepped into the well of annihilation.

One day, Hāmīr Sūmrā went out hunting with three of his suite, one of whom was Rānā Mendrā, his minister's wife's brother. He happened to meet a travelling Jogi, who so extolled the beauty of Mūmāl, that Hāmīr Sūmrā felt a great desire to see her. Taking his attendants with him, they turned their heads to the direction indicated, and on reaching its vicinity put within view of the Palace. Mūmāl, on learning of their arrival, despatched a sharp slave girl to ascertain their quality, and bring the most important person of the party to be hospitably entertained.

First Hāmīr went with the girl, but she outstripped him, and he, on beholding that deep imaginary river, returned without attaining his object, and for very shame said nothing. The next night the girl came again, and bade one of the other strangers accompany her, but he also returned as Hāmīr had done. On the third night, the same thing happened to the third man. On the fourth night, Rānā Mendrā set out with the girl, and when she wished to precede him, according to her custom, he seized the skirt of her garment, and put her behind, saying that it was not proper for slave girls to precede their masters. When he reached the visionary river he was puzzled for a moment. On sounding the depth of the water with the lance which he had in his hand, he found it had no real existence. He at once passed over, and saw the lions at the gate, but throwing his spear at them, he found they were not really alive.

He then pursued his object, entered the Palace, and went into the sofa room; there he saw seven sofas or thrones, all of the same kind, and thought to himself that one of them must be especially intended to sit on, and that perhaps there was some deception about them. He then probed each with his spear, found out the substantial one, and sat down cross-legged upon it. The girl informed Mūmal of the circumstances, and of his sagacity. She instantly came out, they were naturally pleased with each other, and the marriage was

naturally pleased with each other, and the marriage knot was firmly tied. Mendrā passed the night in rapturous enjoyment, and repaired early in the morning to the presence of Hamir and his friends, to whom he related his adventures. Hamir said, "As the woman has now become your own, you must be pleased to let me see her once". Accordingly, at night, Mendrā took Hamir with him, dressed as a shepherd. Hamir bore the Rānā some ill-will for having set aside the respect due to him; he therefore carried him off to his own city and placed him under arrest. As Mendrā had given his heart to Mūmal, he, with the privy of his guards, every night secretly mounted a very swift she-dromedary, who could perform five ordinary day's journey and back again in a single night, and having seen his beloved, and enjoyed the charms of her company, returned to his prison.

It chanced that one night Mūmal had gone to see her sister. Mendrā returned, and suspecting something wrong, became displeased and gave up going any more. The innocent Mūmal was greatly distressed at Mendrā's displeasure, and quitted her own residence and country. Having arrived at the city where Mendrā dwelt, she built a Palace adjoining his, and had windows placed opposite to his windows that she might sometimes see him. Mendrā, shrouded in displeasure closed his windows on that side, and Mūmal then built a Palace

opposite another face of Mendrā's, and so on, opposite to each of its four faces, but did not succeed in seeing her beloved. At last when Mūnāl saw that Mendrā had entirely averted the face of regard from her, she breathed a sigh of anguish, and wounded by despair, gave up her life. Intelligence of this was conveyed to Mendrā, and since a lover powerfully affects the heart of the beloved, and as the attraction of hearts in the world of unity tends to one and the same object, he instantly, on hearing these lamentable tidings, sighed and expired. This story is sung in Sindhi verse at certain established places, and religious devotees are transported to raptures and heavenly visions of Divine Love, on hearing it. A certain Mullā Muqsem has written this story in Persian verse, and called it "Tarannum-i-Ishq", or the song of love.

STORY OF CHANESAR AND LAILĀ.

A girl named Kaunrū, daughter of the powerful and renowned Rānā Khangār was betrothed to her cousin. Being incomparably beautiful, the young lady gave herself great airs among her associates. At that time no one could be compared to Chanesar, of Dewāl, for beauty of person, store of wealth

extent of territory, or force of authority, and an alliance with him was earnestly desired by many beauties. One day a girl named Jamni one of Kaunrū's companions, said to her, tauntingly, "Perhaps you entertain thoughts of being married to Chanesar, since you practise so many fine airs, and are so affected". This taunt pierced Kaunrū's heart, and without even having seen Chanesar's face, she became desperately in love with him, and almost beside herself. When Marghin, her mother, found this out, she apprised Rānā Khangār of it. As a matrimonial alliance with Chanesar was the greatest honour of the day, and there seemed no way of accomplishing that except by stratagem, the Rānā advised Marghin to take their daughter in the garb of a merchant to Chanesar's town, without letting any one know of her so doing, and before Kaunrū should become the victim of despair, and thus perhaps Chanesar himself might become ensnared in the net of good contrivance. Agreeably to this recommendation, Marghin set out with her daughter and some merchandize, crossed the river Parpat, and leaving her own country of Dhat, soon entered the Dewal territory, and arrived at the city where Chanesar lived. She sent a message through a gardener's wife, to Jhagrā, Chanesar's Wazir, intimating her desire for a union. Chanesar-devoted to Leilā, whose beauty and charms might excite the jealousy of the celebrated lailā-- returned for answer that he wished

for none but Lailā, bade the gardener's wife beware of bringing more such messages to him, and directed the new comers to be sent away, lest Lailā should hear of them, and be annoyed. On being informed of this Marghin sold her merchandise, and went one day into the presence of Lailā, in the garb of a poor stranger beggar woman, saying:- "Adverse circumstances have driven me and my daughter far from our own country in spinning thread we have no equals, if you will kindly take us as your slaves, we will so serve you as to merit general approval". Lailā took them both, and was pleased with their work. After some time, the arrangements of Chanesar's bed-chamber became Kaunrū's special charge. Kaunrū one night thought of her own country, and of her splendid position there, and her eyes filled with tears. Chanesar, seeing this, asked her what was the matter. She answered that she had raised the wick of the lamp: and then scratched her eye with the hand with which she did it, which brought the tears into her eye. On hearing this, Lailā was very pressing to learn the truth, and Kaunrū, after much pressing, said, "The truth, is, I am the daughter of a sovereign, of such wealth, that the lustre of his Jewels serves him for night-lights; hence the smoke of the lamp confused my brain, and the recollection of past days entered my head, and I wept that they were no more".

Lailā asked her for proof of the truth of this Pretension; she instantly Produced a most delicate dress, such as Lailā had never seen, with a necklace worth nine lakhs of rupees. Lailā was charmed with such Precious rareties, and desired to have them. Ksunrū and Marghin said, "We will give them on condition that you give us Chanesar for one night". As most women are wanting in understanding, she agreed to the terms, and one night, when Chanesar was drunk, she made him over to Ksunrū, Chanesar Passed the entire night in unconsciousness, and when he awoke in the morning, was astonished at finding who it was he had in his bosom. Ksunrū's mother was all night on the alert as to what should happen. Finding in the morning that her daughter's object was not accomplished, she began muttering from behind the curtain, "how strange it is that Lailā should sell such a husband as Chanesar for a mere necklace, and that he should be ignorant of this; it is not fitting that a man should again consort with such a wife. "Chanesar hearing this, looked lovingly on Ksunrū; she told him the whole Particulars of her story from beginning to end. He then said - Since the case is thus, be of good heart, for I am no more Lailā's, and I will love you with my whole heart".

On Lailā hearing of what had taken place, all her stratagems were futile, her constant union was changed to utter separation. After the lapse of a long time, she returned to her paternal village, and passed her time in solitude. Before this affair, a girl from the family of Lailā had been betrothed to the minister Jhakra; but after what had happened to Lailā her relations would not give the girl to him. As he was bent on the match, he tried many devices to bring about the marriage, but all in vain. Lailā sent word to him that if he could by any means contrive to bring Chanesar with him, she would pledge herself his desired marriage should take place.

On receiving this message, Jhakra, with much ado, persuaded Chanesar to accompany him to Lailā's village. Lailā changed her dress, and putting on the garb of a woman who bears the message of assignation, veiled her face, and entered the presence of Chanesar, when she spoke reproachfully of the relation in which he stood to Lailā. During the conversation, she played off some conquestish airs, and captivated Chanesar without his knowing who she was. As all Chanesar's abandonment of Lailā, and unkindness too, arose from jealousy, and he was in reality as much attached to her as ever, on the remembrance of the joys of the time of his union with her he became beside himself, and said, "O sweet-tongued girl, thou thyself art

the rarest of beauties! How long wilt thou talk of Lailā? Speak to me of thyself, for my heart, yearns to thee!" She replied: "How can the heart love one faithless as thou?" "On hearing her speech, Chaneसर wished to tear her veil off; but Lailā, who was herself her own messenger, at the very height of his ardour, unveiled herself with her own hand. When Chaneसर saw that she was indeed Lailā, he suddenly drew a cold sigh from his sorrowful heart and expired. On seeing this, Lailā, too, uttered one groan and fell down lifeless. The Pair were burned according to custom, and their strange story is well remembered by the People, and is the theme of a popular and moving song in the Sindhi tongue. Idraṅki Beg-Lār composed a Persian Poem on this story; the Present writer, for fear of prolixity, has satisfied himself with relating this much of it.

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NAWWĀB MURID KHĀN.

He was by birth the son of a Rājā, and newly converted to the Muhammeden faith. In the year 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D) corresponding with the 31st year of the reign, he was appointed to the government of Thatte. It is said, that several thousand Rājputs accompanied him. When he arrived the ferry, he learnt that it was necessary to pass through

the butcher's shambles where cows were slaughtered, before he could reach the citadel. So he despatched a message to Qadī Muḥammad Hussayn, the Qadī of the city, saying that he had with him a large body of Hindū Rājapūts, and requesting him to remove the shops of the cow-slaying butchers from the passage of the bazar, lest they should give offence to his followers, and some disturbance should arise. As the institutions of the king, the defender of the law, were not tolerant of the threats and menaces of such persons, the most worshipful Qadī, that very night, directed the butchers to double the number of their usual stalls, and place them on both sides of the roads. When the governor heard of this, seeing it would be useless to act in opposition to His Majesty, the defender of the faith, he was compelled to pass according to the fashion observed by his predecessors. He remained two years in Thatta, during which his army gave much trouble to the Mussalmāns. Upon a representation made by the chief residents, a royal order was received directing him to abandon his ridiculous crotchets and consider himself removed from the government of Mussalmāns. When he was dismissed, he remained for some time at the fort of Tughliqābād, better known as Kalānkot, as he found the air suited to the complaint under which he was suffering, of weakness of sight. The king, out of regard to him, did not oppose this arrangement, but when his successor arrived at Thatta, he was summoned to the court. Some of the present defences and buildings of the fort of Tughliqābād are of his construction.

defences and buildings of the fort of Tughliqābād are of his construction.

1. Qānī : "Maqālāt-'ul-Shu'arā'": Edited by S.H. Rāshidī
P. 531; S.A.B. Karachi; 1957. "Tuhfat-'ul-Kirām" Volume III;
PP 3-193 to 199, under the heading 'Sādāt-i-Shirāzī' alias
Baghukir-i-Ilāhī.
 2. Ibid; _____ PP. 531-532 (Tuhfat-'ul-Kirām; Vol III.
P. 103) : Qādī Sayyid Shahr-'ullāh bin Sayyid Wajih-'ul-Din
bin Sayyid Nā'imat-'ullāh bin Sayyid 'Arab Shāh bin 'Amīr
Nasīm-'ul-Din Muḥammad alias Bah-Mir Mirak Shāh bin
'Amīr 'Atā-'ullāh Jamāl-'ul-Din Muḥḥith bin Fādl-'ullāh
bin 'Abd-'ullāh-'ul-Ḥusayn-'ul-ḍaghteki-'ul-Shirāzī.
 3. Qānī : Op. Cit P. 4; "Introduction", by S.H. Rāshidī.
 4. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text); P. 571
 5. Ibid; _____ PP 670-671.
 6. Ibid; _____ P. 572.
 7. Ibid; _____ P. 572.
- انی حال اکثر بجمع شجر میپردازت، تا سی هزار بیت کما بیش رسید
میبود، اما اغلب طبع برین نبوده، اکثر مسودات بهر جا که ماند ماند.
8. Ibid; _____ P. 572.
 9. Ibid; _____ "Introduction", by S.H. Rāshidī, P. 5.

10. Qānī⁶ :- _____ Op.Cit. PP. 48-49-62-209-254-
766-856.

11. Ibid; _____ "Introduction"; P. 61.

12. Ibid; _____ "Introduction"; PP. 20-21.

13. Ibid; _____ P. 23.

14. Ibid; _____ (Persian Text); P. 164.

15. Ibid; _____ P. 572.

16. Ibid; _____ PP. 643-644-645.

17. Qānī⁶ :- "Makli Nāma"; Edited by S.H. Rāshidi;
"Introduction"; P. 35; S.A.B. Hyderabad; 1967.

18. Ibid; _____ "Introduction"; P. 24.

(The two other books are: Tuhfat-ul-Kiram; by 'Alī Sher Qānī⁶ and "Tuhfat-ul-Tāshirīn" by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Azam Tattawī. The later is published by the S.A.B. in 1956 and edited by Badr 'Alam Dūrānī).

19. Qānī⁶ :- Op.Cit. "Introduction" P. 28. (Mir Ghulām 'Alī "Mā'ilī", 1181-1251 A.H/ 1767-1835 A.D), the son of Mir 'Alī Sher Qānī⁶ composed "Takmilā-i-Maḡāḡlāt-ul-Shu'arā" (A supplement to Maḡāḡlāt-ul-Shu'arā), named "Majma'ul-Balgha", in 1218 A.H/1803 A.D. It contained 320 pages and 2500 distiches. But it is not found. After that Maḡdūm Muḥammad 'Ibrāhīm "Khalīl" Tattawī (1243-1317 A.H/1827-1899 A.D) wrote "Takmilā-i-Maḡāḡlāt-ul-

-Shu'arā in 1175 A.H/1761 A.D. (published by the S.A.B.
1958).

20. Ibid; _____ "Introduction"; P.9.

21. Ibid; _____ "Introduction"; P.10; "Tuhfatul-Kirām;
Vol: III; P.102; as quoted by S.M. Rāshidī.

22. Ibid _____ "Introduction"; P.10.

23. Qānī :- Op.Cit; "Introduction"; P.12.

24. Ibid; "Introduction"; P.10.

25. Ibid _____ P.21.

26. Qānī :- "Tuhfatul-Kirām"; (Persian Text); PP 2-3.

27. Ibid; _____ PP. 22 to 25.

28. Ibid; _____ PP. 37 to 39.

29. Ibid; _____ PP. 39 to 42.

30. Ibid; _____ PP. 96-97.

MUNSHI SHAWAK RĀM 'ATĀRAD.

Munshi ¹Shawak Rām was the inhabitant of Thatta. ^{His} ²Takhallus was 'Ātārad'. He was one of the student of Muḥammad Muḥsin of Thatta. (d. 1163 A.H/1750 A.D.). He flourished in the days of Miyan Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā and remained in the days of Mir Fath 'Alī ³Khān. He was the best ⁴writer of Thatta in Persian prose as well as poetry. He wrote a number of epistles, known as "Inshā-i-'Ātārad". This collection of epistles "Contains 205 pages and each page averagely has twelve lines and each line consists about fifteen words. His style and mode of writing has strictly observed the rules of etiquette, but the attraction and allurements is invisible". These epistles contain a very useful account about Miyan Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā, Miyan Sarfrāz Khān and Mir Bijār Khān. The only copy of this manuscript is in the personal library of Sayyid Husām-'ul-Din Rāghidī.

'Ātārad ⁶composed the story of Hirwa-Rānjā in Persian prose at the inspiration of Miyan Sarfrāz Khān Kalhorā and this fiction depicts the excitement and burning of the heart vividly. He probably composed a complete "Divān" of odes. But the complete copy of his odes is not available. ⁷

No account is given about the date of his death but it is presumed that he might have died in the beginning period of Talpurs.⁸

1. Badvi : "Tadhkirā-i-Luṭfī"; Vol : II ; P .86 ; Hyderābād 1967-68 .
2. Ibid ; P .87 .
3. Ibid ; P .86 (Qānī :- "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā"; P .446) .
4. Qānī :- Op .Cit . P .446 .
5. Mahar :- "Tārīkh-i-Sind"; Part .VI , (Kalhorā period) ,
6. Badvi : Op .Cit . P .88 .
7. See for his poetry, Sadārangāni :- "Persian Poets of Sind" ; PP . 142-143-144 .
8. Badvi :- Op .Cit . P .88 .

CHAPTER IV

" THE RULE OF THE TĀLPŪRS "

(1783 - 1843 A.H / 1198-1259 A.H)

It is said that the Tālpūrs belong to a Baloch tribe and they have been descended from Hadrat 'Amir Hamza, the uncle of the Holy Prophet ¹ Muhammad (Peace be upon him). The tribe of Baloch reached in Baluchistan from Haleb in 995 A.H/1586 A.D, during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. They settled in Baluchistan. Some of them migrated to Sind and other places in the vicinity of Baluchistan and engaged themselves in cultivating the lands. ² Later on they gradually attained political suzerainty in Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpurkhās. 'Talan' was one of the venerable men of Baloch tribe and the word "Tālpūr" is called after his name of his ~~ancestors~~ ³ descendants in the history. From his offsprings, Kakū Khān alias Sulamān Khān was born. Sulamān had eight sons. Hotak Khān and Mānak Khān are famous from them in the history of Sind. The Mirs of Khairpur and Hyderabad are descendants of Hotak Khān and from the progeny of Mānak Khān, are the Mirs of Mirpur, known as "Mānkēni Mirs".

Hotak Khān had a son Shāhdād Khān, who was the founder of the city of Shāhdādpūr. His descendants called themselves

as the "⁵Shahdādāni Mirs" (or Tālpūrs). He was the first Tālpūr who lived in Sind permanently. He quarrelled his uncle Mir Šobdār Khān on account of some family affairs and joined the services of Nūr Muḥammad Kalhorā (d. 1167 A.H/1753 A.D.). He gradually reached to the status of a Commander. It is a fact that in the martyrdom of Šūfi Shāh 'Ināyat, (d. 1130 A.H/ 1717 A.D.), he took an active part. He died in 1147 A.H/ 1734 A.D. and was buried in Shahdādpur.

After his death his two sons Chakar Khān and Mir Bahrām Khān became famous for their valour and generosity. The latter fought bravely against the Afghān army, which had tried to reinstate the Miyān Ghulām Shāh's (d. 1186 A.H/1772 A.D.) brother 'Itir Khān in 1172 A.H/1759 A.D. Mir Bahrām Khān also enjoyed high esteem in the day of Miyān Sarfrāz Khān (d. 1191 A.H/1777 A.D.). But he was killed along with his son Šobdār Khān⁶ in 1189 A.H/1775 A.D. at the instance of Miyān Sarfrāz Khān. Mir Šobdār Khān had four sons, Mir Fath 'Alī Khān Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Karām 'Alī Khān and Murād 'Alī Khān.

Mir Fath 'Alī Khān was confirmed a Sanad (Patent) by Timūr Shāh (d. 1208 A.H/1793 A.D.), the king of Afghānistān in 1783 A.D./1198 A.H. The Mir, then divided Sind into Seven Shares. He kept three for himself and his younger brothers, Mir Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Karām 'Alī Khān and Murād 'Alī Khān; and Hydrābād was made the Capital. He assigned Khairpur to his uncle, Mir Suhrāb Khān and Mirpur Khān to his cousin Mir Thero-

Khān, Mir Fath 'Ali Khān and his brothers were the men of strong will. They ruled very courageously and were united with an unvarying attachment. The people remembered them with the honourable appellation of the "⁷Chāryār (Four Friends).

The Tālpūrs recaptured the places which were lost in the later days of Miyān Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā. They fought decisive wars and took Sabzā Kot from the Nāwāb of Bahāwālpūr, Karāchi from the Khān of Qalāt, Shikārpūr from the Afghāns Lakhpat and Basts from the Rājā of Bhuj and 'Umar Kot from the Rājā of Jodhpūr.⁸

The Mirs of Sind came in contact with the British. They opened the Indus for their commerce, which resulted in the down fall of the Mirs. The British, sent political missions to the Sindhi court and treaties of 'eternal friendship' between the Mirs and the British were signed. When Mir Murād 'Ali Khān died in 1833 A.D/1249 A.H, and the second group of four joint rulers succeeded to the throne, viz. Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān (d. 1841 A.D/1257 A.D) and Muḥammad Naṣir Khān, (sons of Mir Murād 'Ali Khān), Muḥammad Khān (Son of Ghulām 'Ali Khān) and Sodbār Khān (Son of Fath 'Ali Khān), the political conditions of Sind were seriously affected at this time.

⁹
In 1255 A.H/1817 A.D, it was informed that Rājā Rāj-
it Singh (d. 27th June 1839 /1255 A.H) the ruler of the Punjab after conquering Mithankot intends to invade Sind. He had already deputed his grand son Bihāl Singh with a large force. The Mirs called upon the Baloch Chiefs and consulted this

situation among themselves. They decided to fight with the Sikhs beyond Shikarpur. But Mir Murād¹ Ali Khān opposed this proposal saying that it was unwise to fight with a person like Ranjit Singh. He therefore suggested that the help be taken from the British government and they had very close and friendly terms with them. Hence, the Mirs wrote a letter to Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay and Sayyid Ismā'il Shāh, the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shāh² was made an ambassador to Bombay to seek the assistance from the British government.

When Sayyid Ismā'il Shāh (d. after 1250 A.H/1834 A.D) reached in Bombay, he was warmly welcomed by the governor and 30 rupees were allowed for him as a daily allowance. The Governor after interviewing made recommendations and sent the letter of the Mirs to the Governor General at Calcutta. The latter wrote a letter to Rājā Ranjit Singh and told him that the Mirs had friendly terms with the British Government and such treaty was made with them. So he should keep himself aloof of Sind or they would stand by the Mirs. The Rājā replied that he had no intention of invading Sind. His grand-son Nihāl Singh had a pleasure-trip of Multān, Mithankot and Dergha for his Dasharath holidays there.¹⁰

2. For details about Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shāh and his family, See

"Takmilā Maqālāt al-Shu'arā" by Makhdūm Moḥammad Ibrāhīm Khānī from P. 312 to 336.

It was reported by Sayyid Kāẓim Shāh (d. 1248 A.H/ 1832 A.D.), son of 'Āghā 'Ismā'īl Shāh to Mirs of Hyderābād that Shujā'-'ul-Mulk (d. 1258 A.H/1842 A.D.) had become the sole master of Shikārpūr. The Mirs of Khairpūr and Hyderābād collected their forces to remove the 'Afghān ex-king of Shikārpūr. The Mirs proceeded with an ¹¹army of 18,000 men and halted 6 miles away from Shikārpūr. They fought with the 'Afghān army of two or three thousands. But Kāẓim Shāh and Gola Shāh of Khairpūr army were killed in 1248 A.H/1832 A.D. and Balochs fled back to the Camp of Mirs. After the defeat of the Mirs 'Āghā 'Ismā'īl Shāh was sent to make the peace and settle the terms with Shujā'-'ul-Mulk. It was decided that the Afghān prince should receive 12 lacs of rupees and should leave the country. Shujā'-'ul-Mulk received the amount and left for Ludhyāna. Sayyid 'Ismā'īl Shāh was given the charge of that place.

¹²In 1252 A.H/1836 A.D. it was reported that Shujā'-'ul-Mulk had beseeched the British Government to succour him against his own country men at Kābul and the Government had appointed Sir William Macnaghten to reinstall the prince on the throne. Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, also ordered that an army should go from Bombay to help Shujā'-'ul-Mulk, through Sind, under the command of General Sir John

Keane. But before this, colonel Pottinger was sent from
Kach to the court of 'Amers to obtain the formal permission
and to request them that the arrangement should be ~~made by~~
made by the natives and the traders should supply provisions
and the necessary communication of Camels, bullocks, Labourers
and boat men be made at any rate fixed by the Mirs. Mir Nūr
Muhammed Khān (d. 1841 A.D/1257 A.D) gave his consent but the
other Mirs opposed it. When Colonel Pottinger reached in
Hydrābād, the boys of that place threw stones upon him
in the streets and the army marched towards the Indus bank
and camped about two miles to the north of the Gidū Bander.
Here the British army was plundered by the Balochs. Mir Nūr
Muhammed Khān checked wild Balochs and gave them suitable
punishment.¹³

Jawādār Allāh Rakhya, the Governor of Karāchi,
reported that the ships of British troops had reached to
Karāchi and some Sindhi Gunners of fort of Manohar fired
two or three guns at the ships and in return they fired the
bombs from the ships, and general Keane had landed his army
by force. When Mirs heard about this they sent Sayyid 'Ismā'il
Shāh to meet Sir John Keane and make a peace with the help of
Major Pottinger. Sayyid went ^{to} Karāchi and the following treaty
was drawn up ¹⁴:-

(1) That the Mirs must supply provisions and beasts

or burden on reasonable prices and hire.

- (2) That as the Sind rupee contained much alloy, being three Māsās out of 11, and its circulation caused great loss to the traders, the Mirs should strike a rupee weighing 8 Māsās, containing no alloy.
- (3) That the Mirs should pay an indemnity of 25 lacs of pure rupees to the British Government.
- (4) That in future a British force of 3,000 men would be posted at Karāchi.
- (5) That a resident would be appointed to remain at Hydrābād to superintend the British force and to watch the interests of the British Government in Sind.
- (6) That the Mirs would pay 3 lacs of rupees annually to the British Government as a tribute, and
- (7) That the Mirs would readily comply with any reasonable request that the British Resident might make and that the latter would in no way interfere with any public or private affairs of the Mirs.

A Copy of the above treaty was taken with Sayyid 'Isma'īl Shāh and a letter to the Mirs, by captain Whitelock, assistant to Major Pottinger, the British Resident. The Mirs accepted the terms and signed the treaty.

After this treaty Sir John Keane started for Kābul. When the troops reached in Kotri the European Officers desired to visit Hyderābād. Proper arrangements were made and they visited the important places of Hyderābād.

In 1254 A.H/1838 A.D, General Sir John Keane installed Shajā'ul-Mulk on the throne of Kābul and returned to Bombay through Sind paying a visit to the Court of Mir Nūr Muḥammad. The latter died in 1841 A.D/1257 A.H.

In 1257 A.H/1841 A.D, Colonel ¹⁵ Cutram left for Egypt on sick leave and Captain Mylne who was his assistant acted on his post as a Resident. In 1258 A.H/1842 A.D, Cholera broke out at Hyderābād and it spread through out the province of Sind. Some of the Mirs left Hyderābād and went to live Mīānah. They lived there for three months.

In September 1842 A.D., Sir Charles Napier was appointed as the Resident of Sind and he came from Pūnā to Sind. He came to Hyderābād from Karāchi in a steamer. The Mirs sent their men to welcome him at his Residence Baglow. He went to visit Mir Šobdār Khān (d.1262 A.H/30th December 1845 A.D), the next day. Captain Mylne, Assistant Resident left for Bombay and Captain Stanely was appointed in his place. He went to Mir Nasir Khān (d.1261 A.H/10th January 1845 A.D) to get permission for a fresh treaty. He was deputed by Sir Charles Napier.

Following were the terms of the treaty :-

- (1) That the coin of Sind should bear the name of the King of England on one side;
- (2) That the Mirs should cede to the British Government Karachi, Khairpur, Sabzalkot, Umer Kot, and all the land attached to these towns;
- (3) And that a strip of land 100 Yards width, along both the banks of the river be given to the British Government.

The Mirs denied to accept the terms of this treaty and he left for Bombay by a steamer.

In 1258 A.H/1842 A.D. Colonel Outram, the former Resident came in Hyderabad. He did not alight of the steamer. The Mirs offered gifts to him, he received the gifts of Mir Sobdar Khan, but refused to accept the gifts of Mir Nasir Khan and other Mirs.

At last in March 1843 A.D/1259 A.H. a battle was fought near Hyderabad at Miyani and Dabo in which the Talpurs were defeated and Sind was annexed to the Indian Empire. The Talpur prince were taken as the State prisoners and banished from Sind. The invaders took immense wealth of Talpur containing of swords studded with diamonds, horses of Khorasan and Camels, gold ornaments, and Cash.¹⁷

It shows that the Mirs of Hyderābād and Khairpūr were not united and the latter left the camp of the Mirs of Hyderābād and retained Khairpūr State.

Mir Fath 'Alī Khān was the founder of Tālpūr Sultanate. The Mirs ascended the rulership as following :-

1. Mir Fath 'Alī Khān 1782-1801 A.D./1197-1216 A.H.
2. Mir Ghulām 'Alī Khān 1802-1812 A.D./1217-1227 A.H.
3. Mir Kerām 'Alī Khān 1812-1828 A.D./1227-1244 A.H.
4. Mir Murād 'Alī Khān 1828-1833 A.D./1244-1249 A.H.
5. Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān 1833-1841/1249-1257 A.H.
6. Mir Naqir Khān 1841-17th February 1843/1257-1259 A.H.

It is a matter of fact that the Mirs had great interest in Fine Arts, and they were the patrons of Persian Literature. Most of them were poets and writers in Persian as well as in Sindhi Language. Mir Fath 'Alī Khān was a great soldier as well as a Poet and a very learned man. He loved the company of Scholars. His Chronogram was :-

داد نصرت خدا بفتح علی احمد دگاری بنی و علی

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2. S.H. Rāshidi: "Mehran Jūn Maūjūn" P.79 Karachi; 1956
(An article by Mirzā Gul Hāsān, "The literary contribution of Tālpūr rulers").

After him, Mir Ghulām 'Alī Khān ascended the throne. He died ^{on} 6th Jamād-'ul-'Awwal 1227 A.H/1812 A.D. and was buried in Khāḍebād near Hālā.

Mir Nasir Khān was born in Hyderābād for on 14th Muharrem 1219 A.H/1804 A.D. His father, Mir Murād 'Alī Khān appointed an Irānīan scholar for his education. Besides this he put Muḥammad Eschāl 'Anwar, son of Muḥammad Solāḥ Muta'avi for his education. This prince was imprisoned on 17th February 1843/1259 A.H. by the British Government and was exiled from Sind to Bombay, Pūnā and at last he was confined in Calcutta. He composed poems under nom-de-plume 'Ja¹⁸'fery' and 'Makātib-i-Ja¹⁸'fery' (letters) in Persian prose. He died in 1261 A.H/10th January, 1845 A.D. at Calcutta and was buried in Hyderābād.

Mir Karam 'Alī Khān "Karam" (d. 1244 A.H/1828-29 A.D.) was a literary person. He is well known poet and patron of Persian literature. He composed a Divān known as 'Divān-i-Karam'. His collection of poems, "Majmū'e-i-Dilkushā" is famous of his works. He writes about his collection of poems and prose

in the ¹⁹preface:

الحمد لله والمنة، هرگاه این عاصی را در نظم و نثر دستگاه حاصل شد
و تذکره های بی نظیر و در اوین دلپذیر موجود، پس گاهی غزلی، یا فردی،
یا قطعه و رباعی، از متقدمین و خواص متأخرین بنظر میرسد و پسند می آید،
پس برای خالردوستان یار خود گوستهائی آنها، از آن لای آید،



1. The grave of Mir Murād 'Alī Khān Tālpur, (Hyderabad).



2. Mir Nasir Khān Tālpur "Ja'fary", (Hyderabad).

LIBRARY,
INSTITUTE OF SINIOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF SIND, HYDERABAD (SIND)

پروسیا علم، پسو لحاظ کر لیا کہ مجموعہ درست شود، تا بینندگان، ازو
 فیض بردہ، این خاک آستان عملی، اندی کرم علی را برعای خیر یاد فرمایند
 پس این مجموعہ را موسوم ساختہ بنام - "مجموعہ دلکش" و مشتمل است بر شش فصل
 فصل اول فی القصائد - فصل دوم فی الغزلیات - فصل سوم فی المفردات،
 فصل چهارم فی المقطعات - فصل ششم فی ساقی نامہ جات و الشتر -
 در بحر سفینہ باشد این نیست عجب
 در متن سفینہ بحر باشد عجب است
 امیرکہ بد نظر ملالہ کنندگان مشرف یار

✓ Mir Murād 'Ali Khān ascended the throne after the death of Mir
 Karīm 'Ali Khān and he was a poet and his Takhalluṣ was 'Ali'.
 He had a love and likings for the persian literature and he
 composed and copied many books :-

- (1) Divān -i- 'Ali .
- (2) Tibb-i-Murād (He composed it in
 1246 A.H/ 1830 A.D.) .
- (3) Mahak-i-Khusrawi . (He composed it in
 1237 A.H/ 1821 A.D. (This is the Collection
 of poems in metrical form of predecessors
 and his contemporary poets of Sind) .

✓ Mir Hasan-'ul-Hussayni Shirāzi dedicated his book "Tadhkira-
 -i-Zubt-'ul-Ma'qūm" to Mir Murād 'Ali Khān in 1240 A.H/1824 A.D.
 Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān had keen interest for the Persian Language
 and literature . He allowed stipends to the poets and
 literary persons. He attached Mir Soddār Khān, Mir Muḥammad

Khān, and Mir Nasir Khān in the affairs of Government. This is called the text "Chao Yāri".

Mir Sobdār Khān's Takhallus was "Mir". He composed the following books :-
21

- (1) Divān-i-Mir, composed in 1240 A.H/ 1824 A.D.
- (2) Mathnavī Fath Nāma-i-Sind 1244 A.H/1828 A.D.
- (3) Mathnavī Sayfiul-Mulūk 1247 A.H/ 1831 A.D.
- (4) Mathnavī Khusrō-wa-Shirin 1251 A.H/ 1835 A.D.
- (5) Mathnavī Qissa-i-Mah-o-Mushtari 1252 A.H/1836 A.D.
- (6) Mathnavī Judg'i Nāma 1260 A.H/ 1844 A.D.

Mir Sobdār Khān died in Calcutta on 14th Rajab 1262 A.H/ 30th December, 1845 A.D. His Corpse was brought and buried in Khudābād by the side of his father Mir Fath 'Alī Khān. On his grave, the following inscription is written :-
22

وفات حضرت جنت مکان میر صوبدار خان علیہ رحمة تابخ چہار دہم ماہ ربیع ۱۲۶۲ھ

Mir Husayn 'Alī Khān was a poet and the prose writer. He composed poetry under nom-de-plume "Husayni". He had mastery over Persian prose and poetry, as well as Sindhi and Urdu. He composed the following books :-
23

- (1) Manāqib-i-'Alavi (Persian Prose).
- (2) Shāhid-'ul-'Imāmat (Persian Prose).
- (3) Lubb-i- Lubāb. (Persian Prose).
- (4) Divān-i-Husayni (Persian Poetry).

(3) *Divān-i-Husayn (Persian and Urdu)*.

(4) *Divān-i-Husayn (Persian and Urdu)*.

(5) *Divān-i-Husayn (Urdu)*.

In *Manāqib-i-'Alavi*, Mir 'Husayn' has described the miracles of ²⁴Hadrat 'Ali. He has narrated the accounts of the dreams which Mirs had seen. He gives his opinions about the

²⁵Government of Sind in the following :-

مفتی نباشد کہ ہر گاہ انگریزان ملک سندھ را گرفتند، آن وقت درسندھ طوئف الملوکی بود، یعنی پنج حاکم بودند، یکی از اوشان، بندگان عالی میر مامب سرکار بلند اقتدار میر شہار خان، دیم میر سرکار فیض آثار میر محمد نصیر خان، سولہ سرکار عالی میر مامب میر محمد خان، و چارہ سرکار مشقت مار میر مامب میر صوبدار خان پنجم این مؤلف ہندہ در گاہ الاهی، از آن بلع نفرسہ نفر با انگریزان جنگیدند، یعنی سرکار بلند اقتدار میر مامب میر صوبدار خان، بساط دنیا بازی را برافراخت، مزد فتنہ را در دست گرفتہ چو سرخس را با ہمت نمودند، کہ در ظلم بانصاری، و در باطن با مسلمین شدند آخر خود کردہ را عاوی نیست " از اعمال قبیح خود متپید شدند کہ کرد یافتہ بیت :-
کہر کہ بری کرد، بہ بد یار شد، رو بہ بری خویش گرفتار شد

Mir "Husayn" died on 26th Rabi-'ul-'Awwal 1295 A.H/1870 A.D.

He was buried in Hyderabad near Mir Karam 'Ali at the "Tombs

²⁶of Talpurs". Following inscription is written on his grave :-
" حضرت بزرگان سرکار دولت مار، میر مامب میر محمد حسین علی خان تالپور علیہ رحمۃ والفضلان، تاریخ بیست و ششم ماہ ربیع الاول 1295ھ، شب یکشنبہ بوقت صفتہ کلاک

Mir Tār Muhammad Khān, son of Mir Murād 'Ali Khān was not a poet, but he had command over Persian Language and he composed in Persian prose, "History of Sind", known as "Frere Nām" at

the desire of Frere, the then Commissioner of Sind, This is the only history which is written by the Tālpūr himself. He ²⁷ died on 21st Rameḍān 1279 A.H/1862 A.D.

Mir Ḥasan²⁸ Ali Khān, son of Mir Naṣir Khān was born on 26th Dhi-Qaḍi 1240 A.H/1824 A.D. He was a poet as well as prose writer in Persian and Sindhi. His Takhalluṣ was "Ḥasan". He remained in confinement at Calcutta under ^{the} British Government and in 1863 A.D/1280 A.H, he was released and returned to Hyderābād. He died on 15th Dhi-ul-Hajj, 1324 A.H/1906 A.D. His corpse afterwards was carried from Hyderābād to Karbala ²⁹ Muḥallā and buried there on 1330 A.H/ 1911 A.D. He composed 13 books and from them two are in persian prose.

1. Lisā-ul-Haqq Fi Mīzān-'ul-Ṣidiq (Persian Prose), printed in Sulṭāni Press Lāhore, 1308 A.H/1890 A.D.
2. Rūyā-i-Ṣādiq (persian prose and poetry) printed in Karāchi and Second edition from Steem press Lāhore, 1322 A.H/1904 A.D.
3. Khūṭūt-i-Fārsi (letters in Persian). The rest of his works are in persian, Sindhi and Urdu.

The etiquette of writing letters of Mirs to the subordinates was according to the position of a person. All the correspondence was made in persian because it was the court language of the Tālpūrs. The Tālpūrs who belonged to the ruler's family used to address themselves;

انصاف پناه They used to write "انصاف پناه" and "اضیاعری" to the Balochs, viz. Nizāmāni, Laghāri, Bhurgri, Murry, Nūhāni, and Jamālī.

When Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Leghūrī was a manager in Derbells territory, the following letter was endorsed in his name, as written in "Inshā-i-Husnā-ul-Dīn",³¹ that the Tālpur Deh which is in Derbells territory has been given to Shāh Faqir by us, so the possession of the same may be given to him.

افخه پناه ولی محمد خان لغاری کردار پرگنه در پناه سرور باشند،
دین وقت از روی شفقت و رحمت دیره داری ده تا ابور عمده پرگنه در پناه
من ابتداء فصل بیع سنه ۱۲۳۵ هجری بنام اخوی واعزی شهک فقیر نوحانی مقرر
فرموده شده، لهذا قلمی یافت که دیره داری ده مذکور من فصل مذکور
باسم اخوی رافع مقرر و بحال دانسته ابواب فروعی و غیره، وجوه
دیره داری بتصرف مرفی الیه و گذارند که بران قابض بوده تقریر خدمات
سرکار مباحی باشد - نعم شوال المعظم سن ۱۲۵۶

Sardār Qaisar Khān Nigāmāni, who was an advisor, a manager and private Secretary of the Tālpurs, and therefore the Mīrs had an exceeding regard for him. They used to address him "افخه پناه" and "برادر عزیز القدر گرامی" as given in "Inshā-i-Husnā-ul-Dīn".³²

افخه پناه برادر عزیز القدر گرامی فقیر نظامانی سرور باشند
دین وقت مشاده ابلاغ و انفاذ مالیات دیوانی سنوات سابقه و فصل حال در حضور
دریشی و هم عالیجاه رفیع پادشاه بهرام خان از عالیجاه امیر محمد نصیر خان متقی
طرد بلا رضعت گریخته برین جا وارد واستدعای امراد کومک دارد و نوشته بجا
مرسته محتوی بر بعضی خیالات ختم در حضور رسید به بنابران تگارش یافته که
شما زود خود را در حضور

رسائید که بحسب مشورہ جنگلی محاکات بخندیک شایان باشد محل آید و
در آملون خود فرصت نورزید - فهم سوال المکرم -

The Hindūs were addressed as "عزت دستگاہ مہوتہ" but those who enjoyed high esteem were remembered "دیوان" (Divān) or "عامل" (Āmil). The following letter³³ as given in "Inshā-i-Husnā-ul-Dīn", tells us the form of writing of Mirs to the Hindūs. A ruling Mir writes a letter to Munshi Mahta Fārmāl and recommends that "Ādam Khān Murry comes to you with army of his brothers and you should behave him like Sardar Qaisar Khān Nizāmī, Sa'eed Khān Jamālī and Allāh Dād Khān Murry.

عزت و اخلاص دستگاہ مہوتہ یار و مل مشورہ باشد،
دربین والا اخوت پناہ آدم خان مری را با جمیعوت لشکر برادری اور و آنہ نموده شد
کہ در آنجا می رسد لازم کہ مراعات اورا بمثل اخوت پناہ برادر عزیز القدر گرامی مقدار
قیصر خان نظامانی و سعید خان جمالی و الہداد مری منظور نگاہداشتہ سورسات
وارحام را از دعای لشکر و غیرہ برستور سرکردگان مذکور بعمل آورده بوجہی فرو
گذاشت نگفتند و تقریر عرائض و شمر و چنت جواب سوال آنجا اخوت پناہ
مذکور را با سرکردگان مسطور رفیق شفیق دانند و جانی بت شترسوار
کہ حاصل این پروا نجات نزد شما می رسد بعد رسیدن در اینجا بیکرم فرصت
او منظور نہداشتہ حقائق و بکار جمع آملون لشکر و تمامی مراتب زور زور
عرض نماید و اگر شترسواری از سافت مافند گردد شتر دیگر از -
شترسواران کرد آنجا است گرفته باور داده زور شتاب روانہ نماید
کہ زور رسیدن اخبارات لازم و واجب است. تاکید تمام دارند.

The Tālpūrs were religious minded persons. Most of them were stout and firm Shi'as; e.g. Mir Ghulām 'Alī Khān and Mir Karām 'Alī Khān. Being staunch Shi'as they were not

sentimental. There had never been any clash of Sunnis and Shi'as. There were scholars of different creeds in Thatta. Sunnis, local as well as foreigners Shi'as, Suharwardis, Naqshbandis, Qādiris, they all passed peaceful life and it is said that Sind has remained famous for its tolerance. The influence of Shi'ism sect reached in Sind through the relationship of Persia. The Tālpūr ladies too passed religious life. They used to get up early in the morning and after performing ablution, they offered their morning prayers and recite the Holy Qur'³⁵ān. Mir Fath 'Alī Khān erected three mosques in Hyderābād, but his mother Mā'ī Khairi also built a grand mosque there which is still to be seen in 'Faqr-jo-Fir' street and is known as "The mosque of Mā'ī Khairi".³⁶

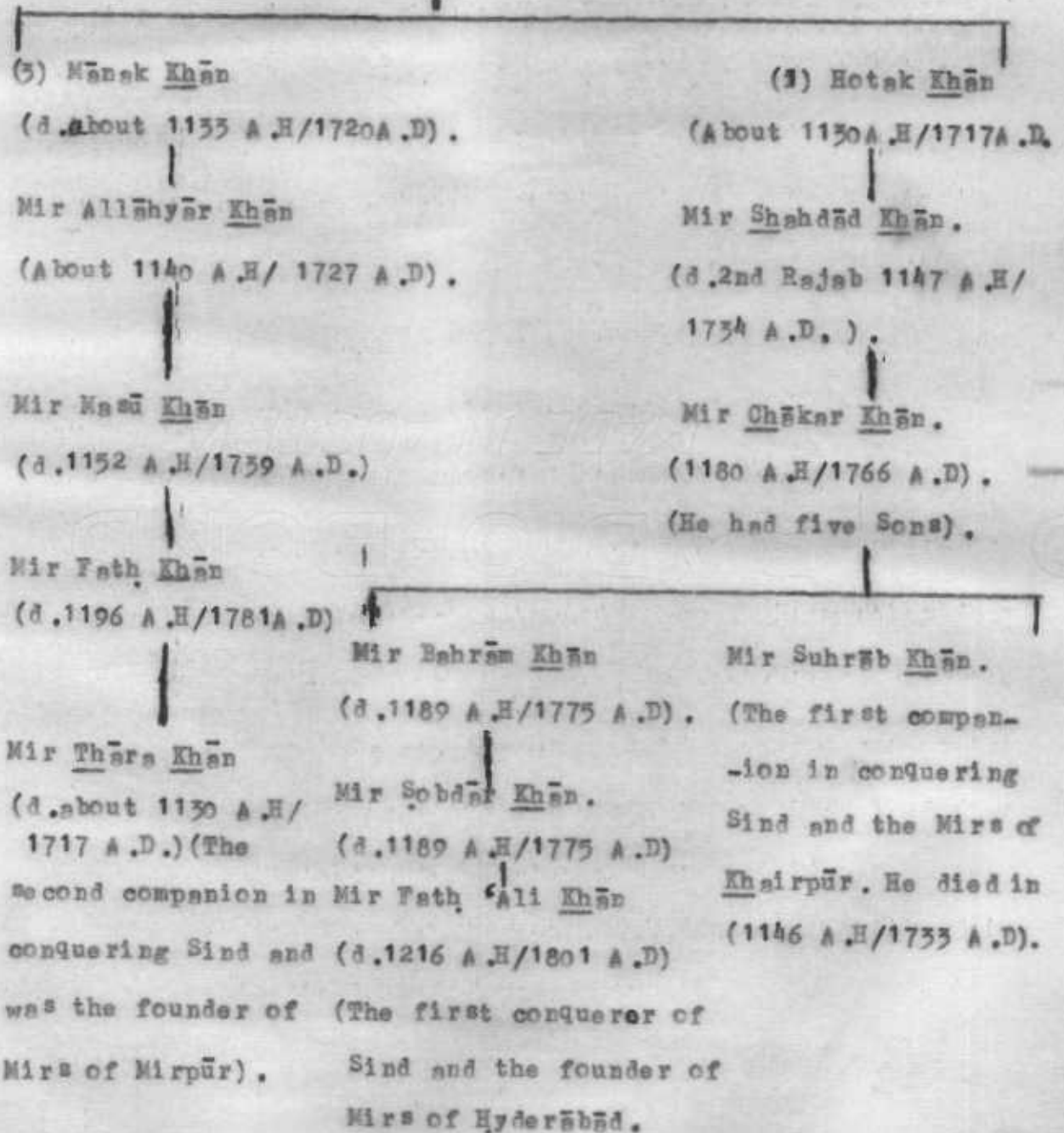
Largely, who lived in the court of Mir 'Alī Murād Khān at Khairpūr writes about the attitude of devotion of Muslims of their evening prayer in the following words.³⁷

"How ever occupied a good Muslim in attitude of adoration facing towards Mecca. Dismounting from his camel, or his horse, the traveller, even the foot beggars, throws himself upon his carpet the cultivator stops his work, the artisan lays down his tools, the boat man rests on his oar, the fisherman on his nets..... all alike join in simultaneous prayer to God".

1. Khudōd Khān :- "Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind" ; P.140.
2. Ibid ; PP. 140-141.
3. Luṭf Allāh Badvi :- "Tadhkirah-i-Luṭfi", Vol:II ; P.5.
4. Khudōd Khān :- "Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind" ; P.143.

The Geneological Table of the Tālpūrs :-

Kakū or Kaka Khān alias Sulemān Khān Tālpūr.
(About 1100 A.H/



5. Lutf-'uālāh Bādvi :- "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi", Vol: II, P. 6.
6. Khudādād Khān :- "Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind"; P. 134.
The chronographic verse on his death is given :-
"بہ سال و سالش ملک ہو ملک بگفتا" بفر دوس خزاں زد
The numerical value of the words is 1189 A.H/1775 A.D.
But Mirzē Qalich Beg writes 1188 A.H/1774 A.D. ("A History of Sind") Vol: II; P. 168).
7. Khudādād Khān :- Op.Cit; PP. 145-146 (See also Burton: "A narrative of a visit to the court of Sind"; P. 27).
8. Khudādād Khān :- Op.Cit; PP. 145-146.
9. Mirzē Qalich Beg :- "History of Sind"; Vol. II, P. 216.
10. Ibid; P. 217.
11. Ibid; P. 222.
12. Ibid; P. 223.
13. Ibid; P. 224.
14. Ibid; PP. 224-225.
15. Ibid; P. 227.
16. Ibid; P. 228.
17. Munshi 'Atā Muhammad :- "Tārikh-i-Tāze Nāwā-i-Ma'arik", P. 668.
18. Makhdūm Muhammad 'Ibrāhīm 'Khān :- "Takwīl-i-Ma'ālāt-ul-Shu'arā"; P. 109 and P. 712.
19. Ibid; P. 720.
20. Ibid; P. 730.

21. "Mahrān Jūn Maujūn"; edited by S.H. Rāshidi, P.82
(An article by Mirzā Gul Hāssen, "The literary contribution of Tālpūr rulers").
22. Ibid; P.82.
23. Makhdūm Ibrāhim "Khalil" :- Op.Cit. P.756.
24. The Tālpūrs were originally Sunnis, but later on their friendly relations with Irān left a great inclination towards Shi'ā sect and they accepted Shi'ā doctrine and most of them became Shi'ās. Burns writes:-
"The Tālpūrs were originally soonees like Baloches and Sindhians in general. But their connection with Persian has infected the court with the heresies of that kingdom; and with the exception of of Murād 'Ali and Soḥdār, who are still attached to the orthodox doctrines, they have become Shash's (Shi'ās) of followers of Madanat 'Ali".
(Burns:- "A Narrative of a visit to the court of Sind, P.81).
25. S.H. Rāshidi :- "Mahrān -Jūn-Maujūn", P.99.
26. Makhdūm "Khalil" :- Op.Cit; P.756.
27. Ibid; P.747.
28. Ibid; P.598.
29. Ibid; P.598.
30. Quarterly "Mahrān"; Vol: II; No:2.1962; P.163 (An article by "Shā'iq -Qaysri", "The etiquettes of writing during the Tālpūr period.
31. Ibid; PP.163-164.
32. Ibid; P.164.

33. Ibid; P.165.
34. Mir Mā'il :- "Kulliyāt-i-Mā'il" ; Muqaddema ; P.53.
35. Aitken, E :- " A Gazetteer of Sind" ; P.69.
36. Mirzā Qālich Beg :- "History of Sind," Vol : II ; P.205.
37. Langley F.A :- " A Narrative of a residence in the
the Court of Mir 'Alī Moḥammad",
Vol : II ; P.170.

1
KHALIFĀ MAHMŪD NIZĀMĀNĪ.

Khalifā Mahmūd Nizāmānī was the son of Gaḥwār Khān Mubārkanī. The date of his birth is not known but it is presumed that he was born in 1180 A.H/1766 A.D. It is said that his great grand-father was the minister of Finance in the days of Miyān Yār Muḥammad Kalhorē (d. 1151 A.H/1718 A.D.).

Khalifā Mahmūd got his early education from Miyān 'Abd-'ul-Karīm and then his father appointed Hāfiẓ 'Uthmān, a deravish for his education. Khalifā was keenly interested in the company of dervishes and saints. Afterwards he became the follower of Pir Muḥammad Rāshid Shāh, (d. 1233 A.H/1817 A.D.) known as '(Rōḍay Dhanī'.

Khalifā was himself a dervish. He devoted his life in praying Almighty God and his shrine is at "Kariya Gaḥwār", which is 15 or 16 miles away to the South of Tando Muḥammad Khān. He died on 9th Rābi-'ul-Awwal, 1267 A.H/6th November 1850 A.D.

As he was mystic and had studied mysticism minutely. So he has composed the following books on mysticism.

1. JĀM'UL-FAYŪDĀT - This book contains the sayings of Pir Muḥammad Rāshid and the letters in the end. The sayings are replete with the spiritual guidance. The letters have been written to the different persons, who have asked some questions and put some

problems for the solution. There is a valuable historical account of thirteenth century of Hijrah in this book. It was compiled in 1248 A.H/1832 A.D.

There is an introduction and the conclusion in this book. It has got 23 chapters.

2. AURĀDUL-MAHMUDIYAH :- This book is composed to express the ideology and the concept of Pir Muhammad Rāshid about the prayers of Almighty God and how to become nearer to Him. It has been translated into Sindhi verse in 1312 A.H/1894 A.D. by Hāmid bin Hasan and was published in 'Fayd Subhāni press at Kotri'. It is known as, "Maḥabūbiyat-ul-Mahmūdiyyah".

3. GULSHAN-I-AULIYĀ :- This treatise was compiled in 1258 A.H/1842 A.D. It contains the biographies of saints and anecdotes, which explain some of the mystical points; e.g. It is ⁴said that some people were killed by Mir Bājār Khān at the offence of one of the Tālpūr's death. This was brought to the notice of Makhdūm Muhammad Zamān Shāhib that for the sake of the death of one person many people have been killed. Are they martyrs? Makhdūm Shāhib replied, "The martyrs are those who have purified their inner self".

4. MAKĀTIB:- These are the letters of Pir Muḥammad Rāshid (d. 1233 A.H/1817 A.D., which have been collected by "Khalifa Mahmūd".

5. A treatise in Sindhi Verse.

2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

1. Quarterly "Al-Rahīm", P.73 No : I : 1965; Shāh Wali-ullāh Academy, Hyderabad Sind.
2. Ibid; P.73.
3. Quarterly, "Al-Rahīm"; P.75; No. I; 1966.
4. Khalifa Mahmūd :- "Gulshān-i-Auliyyā; MSS P.6.

2
AB-'UL-HASAN DAHIRI .

Makhdūm Ab-'ul Ḥasan Dāhiri was born in a village called Sāwāni Dāhiri on about 1116 A.H/1704 A.D in Nawābshāh district. Nothing is known about his early education, but it is said that he achieved his early education in Kotiyānū at Sorath (India).

Makhdūm Ab-'ul Ḥasan was a dervish and a Sūfi. He was poet as well as prose writer. He has composed four books, two in prose and two in poetry.

1. Sirāj-'ul-Muḥallī - (poetry).
2. Kaḥ Kōl Nāma - (Poetry).
3. YANĀHI'UL-HAYĀT-'UL ARDIYAH - (Persian Prose).

This book is on mysticism and it contains three volumes. Ab-'ul Ḥasan has explained very intricate problems of 'Mysticism' in this book. This book contains more information of mysticism than that of Imām Ghazālī's "Kimiyyat-Sa'ādāt".

4. Raf'at-'ul-Firyat wa'l Miryat - This treatise is on Fiqh (Jurisprudence).

Ab-'ul Ḥasan was considered to be the Imām (Leader) of scholars of his time. He died in 1181 A.H/1767 A.D. His grave is near the Daur Railway Station. The grave yard is known on his name.

2. His account has been taken from Quarterly "Al-Rahim", P.60, No 2; 1965.

Muhammad Ibrahim "Ibri".

Nothing is known about his life sketch. The account of "Ibri", has been taken from "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi". He was the inhabitant of Sawistān (i.e. present Sahwān) and was the best poet as well as the splendid prose writer in Persian. It appears from his collection of epistles that he had seen the vicissitudes of life and always complained against the azure ²² Sky. He completed his collection of epistles volume second known as "Inshā-i-'Ibri" in 1207 A.H/1792-93 A.D. He has given some aspects of his life in a poem in the beginning of his epistles, which shows that he had no male issue ²²² and he could not enjoy the charms of his life.

ندارد در جهان کسی آشنائی - که بخشد فاح برین دعای
 یک مرده تن و بپریده جانم - شکسته پشت و صلیب بیوای
 شکسته خاطر بکشته پیوند - ز دنیا دنی و بی وفائی
 بدین سال بی مراد از دنیا - نباشد همچون من در هیچ جای
 زین روزم خودم درین کار - که مانند یادگار از من بجای
 نیامد سر اسرار از من - یکی کاری که باشد خوشگفتی
 دلم خون شد ضایع فرما - کنون زان حسرتم دروایی وائی
 خداوند دری از غیب بکشا - برای روزگار این گدائی
 که من افضل تو امیر وارم - به بخشش بر منی صلیب عظمائی
 مباش از رحمتش ناامید بگری - که باشد در رحمتش بی منتقائی

2. Badvi : "Tadhkira-i-Lutfi" Vol : II, PP. 93-94.

22. Ibid; P. 94.

222. Cp. Cit. P. 94.

MUNSHI 'ATĀ MUHAMMAD.

His name was Mirzā 'Atā Muhammad and "'Atā" his
nom-de-plume, as he himself says:-

توقع که از عنایت شاه سرخوشی بنام "عطاء" و "عطاء" بنحطائی "عطاء"
پرداخته معذور در آمد.

About the date of birth of Mirzā 'Atā Muhammad, neither there
is record, nor he has given any clue. But this can be presumed
that he might have come to Sind in 1225 A.H/1810 A.D with his
maternal uncle, Sher Muhammad Khān, who was one of the eminent
courtiers and the ambassador to the 'Afghān court sent by the
Mirs of Khairpūr. He was perhaps 25 years old and thus he might
have been born in 1200 A.H/ 1785 A.D. 'Abdull Hay-'Afghānī
assumes that according to the Frer's description Mirzā 'Atā
Muhammad lived upto 1272 A.H/1855 A.D. and there fore he died
at the age of 72.

Mirzā 'Atā Muhammad was the Secretary of the State
from the very youth at Shikarpur and used to write political

letters as he says:-
این جرعه نوش باده بی کمال، اگرچه روزی چند در میخانه خدمت و ملازمت محکومان
صحبای ریاست و حکمرانی بسر آورده، حضور مادر ملک شکارپور در ایام بهارستان جوانی
در اکتاب منرا نشا پروازی..... جرعه نوش باده منشی گیری شده؛

Being the Secretary to Shāh Shujā' at Shikarpur in 1235 A.H/
1819 A.D he was assigned to write political letters and orders
to Mirs of Sind.

بشروط ورود شکارپور، دستخط های مبارک، مشعر بر نزول اجلال خود، و
مراسم صراقت و اخلاص و غیر خواهی و شرم و تاج و تاج، بحضور مرغوب که
راقم دستخط های مذکور این خاکسار بود نوشته، جانب میر صاحبان فرستاده

When Shāh Mahmūd became the ruler of 'Afghānistān, he made Fath Khān, the Prime Minister. A feast was arranged in honour of Fath Khān near Kābul river. Mirzā 'Atā Muḥammad accompanied his maternal uncle Sher Muḥammad Khān as the representative of the court of Mirs of Khairpūr and Sayyid 'Isma'il Shāh was also present there as the representative of the Mirs of Hyderābād. The charming description of the banquet, is testimony of a fact and the personal knowledge of Mirzā 'Atā Muḥammad, which he vividly expresses in the following lines :-

« اشرف الوزراء [فتح علی خان] بغرور دولت سلطنت همیشه برعه بتوش باده عیش
و عشرت، و به تماشاى ناچ گلرخان پریوشان لولیان کشمیر، شمع افروز بزم ارم نظار
نشاط و خرمی بود، اودر عین نشاط و سرشاری دست بخشش و نوال، چون ابروهار
ریزیش می نمود و در شهر کابل برکنار رود، یک برج از عمارت عالی منقش باب
طلائی و لاجورد، استادان مانی کوبار، تیار نمودند بودند، که نقاشان چینی انگشت
تخیر بردان میگرفت، و از زرق و برق رنگ آمیزها چشم بیننده حیره می کردند،
و مشتمل بر هفت طبقه حایض برنج مسدود درست نموده، فوارهای ترتیب داده
بودند [و نحوی وضعت کرده بودند] که آب از دریا در حوض های بالائی برج می رسید،
و مقابل در حوض در میان هر سطح، آئینه ها را نصب کرده بودند، آب از فوارهای
مجید، در میان آئینه سر میزد، و آئینه گوناگون رنگ های نمود، و اشرف الوزراء
و وزیر فتح خان، روزی در آن برج جشن جشن کشمیری نموده بود، که این خاکسرا عاجز
حاضر بود، و لولیان گلرخان کشمیر جنت نظیر، بصد آب و رنگ، چون
ضار داستان، در آن بوستان مجلس، در خواندن و رقصیدن، و ادای ناز و
نیاز سرگرم بودند، و فروش های قالین پشمینه گوناگون گسترده
و شمعهای کافوری رنگارنگ در آن محفل روشن.»

After attending this banquet Mirzā 'Atā Muḥammad came to Peshāwar alongwith the king in 1231 A.H/ 1815 A.D.

”در سنه یک هزار و دویست و سی و یک هجری باتفاق شاه محمود خان از کابل
برآمده، رونق افزائی پشاور گردید.“

There, we find an account of the love affairs of the Prime
Minister Fath Khān who married a girl, and soon after the
marriage, he sent her to her Father's home. Then he
abducted another girl from Kashmir. The narration of the
author is in poetic language :-

”در آنجا دختری جلیله که خوشنویس خاوری از حسن دلا و نبشت بوست آورده .
در شب اول گوهر ناسفته اش ، بموزن الماس جفا بسته ، آب و تاب از غنچه بکارتش ،
از گلبرن و جودش ریخته ، باز خانه پدر فرستاد ، بمنزل سرو ، او را از بهر جان آزادی
بخشید و باز در آن روزها ، ارباب نشاط از کشتیر دختری آورده ، شیفته جمال با
کمال او شده و نور او را در مشکوی اقبال برده ، مامیخانه ساخته ، گاهای عیش و
عشرت از بوستان صمیمت او می چید ، و هر روز مجالس آرای و شمع نای و
نوشی تماشای لولیان روشن بوده ، میر اسماعیل شاه وکیل ناظران میوه داد
و خلولیم شیر محمد خان وکیل ، والیان خیروپور ، بهجت مبارکبادی ،
نزد اشرف الوزراء رفتند ، و هدیه سنگینی پیشکش نمودند ، اشرف الوزراء
نهایت خوش شیره ، و تماشای لولیان بوکلای مذکور ، و اکل و شرب
عطا نموده ، و هم خلع فاخره عوض مبارکبادی مرحمت فرمود.“

The prime minister Fath Khān, known as 'Ashraf-ul Wuzarā',
came to Herāt, in 1234 A.H/ 1818 A.D. The ambassadors of Sind
also accompanied him there. When 'Ashraf-ul wuzarā' made
campaign against the prince Mirzā 'Abbās 'Alī Shāh at Mashhad;
he entrusted the keys (the fort of Herāt) to the ambassadors of
Sind, and at the completion of expedition, the keys were

returned to 'Ashraf-ul-Wuzarā' After this event Fath Khān was captured and was blinded by the prince Kamrān in Herāt. Mean while the fore⁸ said ambassador returned to Sind and the author remained his Secretary at Shikarpūr. But in 1237 A.H/1821 A.D. he was made Mukhtiar⁸ of Qandhār, under the Deputy Governor, Mullā Mo'min Khān Ghālzi⁸ and there he (Mirzā 'Atā Muhammad) distributed the amount, Rupees two lacks and forty thousands among the police Officers and to the other staff working under his control.

« خدی شاهرحالت که در ایام مختیاری، مبلغ دو لک و چهل هزار روپیہ در تخریفات
میانہ و عملہ سردار شیردل خان بروست خود صرف نمودیم، لیکن نایب ممدوح گاهی
مفسر سیرہ کہ مبلغان را چہ نحو خرج نمودند، و بہ کہ دادند؟ و خاکسار را
محل اعتبار کلی می دانستند.»

After 1238 A.H/1822 A.D. we are unaware of the facts about the author, whether he had been in Qandhār or in Sind. But in 1248 A.H/1832 A.D. when the war between Shāh Shujā⁸ and Baloches in Sukkur broke out he was present in the battle field and then he came back to Shikarpūr. He was also asked to take part in the battle, but he flatly refused and the account depicted by him is interesting one.

« (سید کاظم شاہ) باتفاق سید محمد تقی شاہ برابر خود و عملہ و فوعلہ روانہ
سکر گردیدہ، و این خاکسار کہ نازندہ قانون این داستان است، بسیار
تکلیف ہون ہمارہ رکاب خود نمودہ، لیکن بجواب حاف پرواختہ، بخد متشن عرض کرد کہ:
علا ہرجامہ را باندازہ اندامی دوختہ اند، و خانہ ہر ہنری در انگشتی
دادہ اند.»

ہر قلم را بہر تحریر خطی سر کردہ اند،
کایہ باز از بطن نیاید، بخن طوطی از زغن

کارین قلم زنی است، الحال مقدمه بشمشیر زنی سرکشیده برای مافقرات
نویس و انانی، همین سربری قلم هم کافی است، نه خون ریزی نافق مسلمین! این
معنی درجه دلت را است؟ اگر مقدمه چهار باشد، هم مذاقیقه ندارد.....
عوضاً کسار باین سایل و سایل، از خدمت سید صمد روح رخصت گرفته،
و آنه شکارپور بمکان مالوفه خود شدم؟

TĀRIKH-I- TĀZA NAWĀ -I- MA'ĀRIK :-

The history contains one hundred Bayāns (narrations)
and most of the occurrences are the testimony of his personal
experience. He traces the history of his period from Hyderābād
to Herāt and from Kashmīr to Kābul. As a matter of fact Mirzā
'Atā Muhammad was not a politician. He has given the account
of the events without any exaggeration. What ever he perceived
and observed he recorded them impartially; e.g. he had a great
regard for Shah Shujā' and he often called him 'Aliyā-e-Daulat'
(Guardians of the wealth or State). But when Shah Shujā' took
the law and order in his hands at Shikārpūr and crushed the
poor and innocent under his cruel hands, the author recorded
the facts :-

..... چند مدت از مکر از حکومت شکارپور گلهای کامرانی و عیش و عشرت یکامه لایحه
و از مواید گوناگون نغمتها، و شیرین کام گردیده، بعد بسیار ریاض معاشرت کاری شریقه
و قوسن سرکش ظلم را در میدان آرزوی نفس نافرجام میدوانید، و جرعه ای از جام
سهرابی آشامید، هرچه که سراغ رختی باکره مطهری یافت، (شعب ظلمی تاخت، و جای
که چراغ دولت را فروخته می دید، پروانه وار خود را ساسیده، بتاخت و تالاج آن می
پرواخت..... و بنور بودن دختران باکره از خانه های مردم، در شهر شکارپور،
تفرقه واقع شده و رعایا غریبای شکارپور، به بیحاشیه این رفتارهای فرعونیه چوت
رو بیل در تلاته و اضطراب و پریشانی آمدند؟

When the Mīr of Hyderābād Sind, started expedition against

the evil and disagreeable manners of the British peoples,

the author portrayed the valour of the soldiers and as well as

the patriotism of the supporters of Mīr in the following

11
words :-

ولما یفقه لغاری هاجمین اظهار می کردند، که این سنده بمنزله مادر
بلوچان است که از پستان شیر پیرانش، آذ پشت به پشت، پرورش یافته ایم.
حق مادر و پدر در اولاد بسیار است، نهایت جان را نثار را خدمت این والد
خواهیم نمود، و اگر جان را نثار نکردیم، از جمله والدانرا خواهیم بود.

But the unity of Beloches did not last long! And due
to the civil war, they could not fight out the British people.

All these occurrences have been described vividly by Mirza
'Ata Muhammad. He has endeavoured to clarify the facts
apparently.

DICTION :- Mirza 'Ata Muhammad expresses the events in a distin-
-ctive manner. His mode of manifesting the occurrences is
idiometical as well as soft and smooth. Although he refrains
from using the long and inflated sentences but at certain
places he becomes ambiguous.

His work contains references from the Holy Qur'an,
aphorisms of Arabic Language and couplets of Shaykh Sa'di and
other prominent persian poets. Besides this, there are some
unpleasant sentences and wrong use of lexicography and intricate
word Plays to some extent. The author has also made some tech-
-nical errors in depicting the accurate periods. It is just
possible that the author did not have the proper sources for
the compilation of the book. But it seems the blunder for an
inditer learned person, who had been enjoying the post of a
Secretary to the State.

In spite of these defects the book contains ample material and is replete with the events, which have been the personal experience of the author. He seems genuine and free from pretence in narrating the occurrences, for we find that while expressing good deeds and moral imperfections of his friends and foes he shows no partiality. He does not distort the facts for his own purpose and tries to treat his material honestly and faithfully. Particularly the contests of Kabul and military expedition of the English, he has never eulogised or recorded any event favouring any party.

Hence the book is free from prejudice and contains the abundant material and is full of interesting historical facts.

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1. Munshi 'Ata Muhammad :- "Tārīkh-i-Tāzā Hawā-i-Ma'tarik", P. 12
(Persian Text); S.A.B. Karachi, 1959.
 2. Ibid; (Muqaddima) _____ P. 11.
 3. Ibid; (Persian Text); PP. 12-13.
 4. Ibid; (_____); P. 108.
 5. Ibid; (_____); PP. 37-38-40.
 6. Ibid; (_____); P. 43.
 7. Ibid; (_____); PP. 43-44.
 8. Ibid; (_____); P. 173.
 9. Ibid; (_____); PP. 297-298.
 10. Ibid; (_____); PP. 119-123.
 11. Ibid; (_____); P. 653.

Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Bin Ghulām Muḥammad Khān.

(1162-1250 A.H / 1748 - 1834 A.D.).

Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān was the son of Ghulām Muḥammad Khān. His father was loyal to Mir Behrām Khān and when the latter was martyred at the instigation of Miyan Sarfrāz Khān he (Ghulām Muḥammad Khān) helped Mir Šobdār Khān and fought with the courtiers of Kalhora and was martyred in 1189 A.H/¹ 1775 A.D.

Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Khān had three sons and one daughter. Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad was born in 1162 A.H/1748 A.D.² at 'Udhapur, District Sindhgar. Nawwāb Wali Muḥammad Khān, his second son became the Prime minister of Sind and Ghulām-Jullāh remained as the Nawwāb (Governor) of 'Umarkot.³

GHULĀM MUḤAMMAD KHĀN

(1137-1189 A.H/1724 - 1775 A.D.)

Nawwāb Ghulām-Jullāh Khān (1186-1253 A.H/ 1754 -1837 A.D.).	Nawwāb Wali Muḥammad Khān (1165-1247 A.H/ 1751 -1831 A.D.).	Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān (1162-1250 A.H / 1748-1834 A.D).
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Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān acquired his education in Arabic and Persian. He had mastery over the art of Calligraphy.⁴ He copied the Holy Qur'ān and presented to Mir 'Alī Murād Khān. Besides these literary activities, he possessed administrative

qualities and he was appointed as Governor (Nawāb) by Mirs to Thatta.

He was a Dervish too. He passed his latter days in studying and serving human beings. He died in 1250 A.H/1834 A.D. and his tomb is in the grave yard of Shaykh Muhammad Ilyās, which is one and half mile away from Tājpur.

He has left his Bayād, a note-book in which he has dealt with the Hadith (tradition) maxims of Jāmī and Sa'ādī, Sayings of Hadrat 'Alī and the extractions from the Greek Philosophers. He was a poet and his Takhallus was 'Alī'.

Dr. N.A. Baloch, writes:-

"Alī Muhammad Khān was influenced by the ideals of Sūfism and preferred private life devoted to prayers to the temporal authority. He probably retired from service voluntarily and devoted himself to prayer and meditation. In 1240 A.H/1824 A.D. at the age of 78, he compiled a book entitled "Anīs-ul-Sālikīn" pertaining to Sūfī way of life inspired by 'Faith' and 'truth'. In the introduction to this book, which is included in his bigger 'Bayād', he mentions that from the days of his youth he had devoted himself to "the study of 'tafsir' and other literature" and had associated himself with "Scholars and Sūfī saints". That he was widely read and was a man of catholic taste, is confirmed from his 'Bayād' in which he has made selections from various fields of knowledge "the prophets' sayings about recitation of Qur'an", extracts from "Tārīkh-i-Kisrā" s

versified translation of "One Hundred Sayings of Caliph 'Ali", poems of Mir Jān-'ullāh Shāh of Rohri (Sind), 'Khired Nāma' of Aristotle admonitions of Sa'di etc. The versified translation of 'One hundred sayings of Caliph 'Ali which is the 9th of 24 topics covered in 'Bayān', carries an entry at the end to the effect that is when 'Ali Muhammed Khān was about 85 years old".

The book begins :-

الحمد لله رب العالمين ، والطاوة والسلام على رسوله محمد وآله واصحابه
اجمعين . بيشنواى طالب راه دين وساكن باليقين كه حضرت حق سبحانه
تعالى جلشانه ايزد متعال ذوالجلال بافضل لايزال والطافات و منايات
بقرت كامله خویش انسان را بيا فرید : پوره خلقت فخره "فنفخت فيه -
من الروحى" از توهمات و اشتباكات خود ارا پيوشتايند وهم پاره اواز راه
لطف وكرم در قرآن فرموده كه "فاذكرونى اذكر كم" و در آيه ديگر آمده "وفى
الفنكم افلا تبصرون" وهم در خلقت انسان در فرقان فرموده "لقد -
خلقنا الانسان فى احسن تقويم" - وهم در قرآن بيان عيان است "نحن اقرب
اليه من جبل الوريد" ان چند خطاب كه در كتاب رب الارباب در باب بشر
مبشر است درباره هيچ مخلوقى از مخلوقات كلى ديگر شرف نزول نيافته -
لكن آدمى هوشمند و عاقل را بايد كه يك لحظه و يك لحظه غافل نبوده شب و روز
هزاران هزار شكرانه اين نعمت عظمى مكرمه و مشرفه مذكور بجا بيز و انگسار
بسيار غوده براحكام كلام حضرت حق سبحانه ايزد جلشانه
قدراواقى مساعى بوده ، عمل نمايد چنانچه فرموده است "ما خلقت الجن
ولا انس الا ليعبدون" الخ

The conclusion and about the book he writes :-

چون این فقیر پیر تقصیر هیچ مردان زمان علی محمد ولد مرحوم مفقور غلام محمد
علیه الرحمۃ از عنایت و هدایت ربانی از ابتداء ایام جوانی بخواند تفسیر قرآنی و دیگر کتب
اشغال و زبده و نیز بر آن نیاز هم صحبتی علمایان و مشایخ برگزیده. بپرکت خواندن
قرآن و هم از آن صحبت آن نیکان بهر عزان بفضل حق سبحانه جلشانه بهر برگزیده.
از آنجا که عمر بنده به پیروی رسیده خواست که کتابی بجهارت مختصر منعی بر معاملات
راه دین و اخلاقیات و مقالات و مقامات اهل یقین که کتب های معتبر بنظر آمده و از فقراء
صادر شده بعنوان شائسته بطریق اختصار در بیان آورده تعریف کتاب سازد که گاه بیگاه
بوقت تنهایی مردمان طالبان و مقالات را مونس و متذلل گردد و بخواندن آن سالکان
بهر گونه مستفیض و بهر باب مندر این ضعیف را بیدای جز و خوبی دارند یاد فرما
باشند. لهذا این کتاب درست نموده بنام انیس السالکین مرسوم ساخته. توقع
از الطامات و اشتیاقات عالمان سالکان و طالبان و دانایان خورده
بینان و نکته چینیان، آن دارد که اگر سهوی یا خطائی در تحریر و تقریر تعریف این
ضعیف بنظر کرد و متذلل در آید. بموجب مصرع :-

”قام عفو بر گناهیم کشت - که از خورده ان خطا و بزرگان عطا.“
تمام شد کتاب انیس السالکین بعون عنایت رب العالمین جلشانه درست
فقیر الحقیر المذنب علی محمد لغاری -

در سنه ۱۲۴۵ هجری النبویه حضرت پیغمبر علیه الصلوة والسلام

SAWAB GHULAM - 'ULLAH was the youngest son of Ghulam Muhammed

Khān. He was born in 1168 A.H/1754 A.D. On account of his

administrative efficiency he attained a high-rank during the

Talpūr period. He was the Mukhtarkār to Mirs, Karām 'Ali

Khān and Murād 'Ali Khān and Governor of Pārkar. He held the

Jāgirs from Mir Karām 'Ali Khān at Badin, Umar Kot and Larkān.

He was the keeper of Umar Kot fort. Dr. James Burns, who remained

in Hydrābād, since November, 1827 to January, 1828, writes that,

"The main fort¹¹ of 'Umr kot is in the custody of Nawwāb (Wali Muhammad Khān's brother) Ghulām-'uallāh Leghārī, where it is said that a treasury of the rulers of Sind worth crores of rupees is kept safe".

Mir Murād 'Alī Khān had full confidence on him and he remained at the boundaries of Sind for the defence.

Nawwāb Ghulām-'uallāh Khān died on 18th Dh¹²-ul-Hajj 1253 A.H./1837 A.D. and he was buried in the grave-yard of Shaykh Sayyid Muhammad 'Ilyās, three miles away to the East of Tandojām; one and half mile away to the West of Tājpūr.

He was a dervish and well-versed in Persian, Arabic and Sindhi. He composed a book saturated with good advices, known as "Nasehat Nāms". The book begins¹³:-

بسمه تعالیٰ پر تقصیر راجی الی رحمہ اللہ غلام اللہ بن غلام محمد لغاری -
صوفی القادری ہمدان نافع و مواعظ برای تعلیم فرزندان اربختان بقید تقریر در
آوردہ کہ بران عمل نموده حرکات و سکنات خود را بہ طرز خوب قائم دارند.

In the conclusion Ākhūnd 'Atā-'uallāh, the calligraphist

¹⁴ writes about the manuscript and the author in the following:-

هذا النسخة المتبركة مسودة "تصنيف نام" که اگر درجہ مروارید و نیل
مرجان نوران خواند، دوست تصنیف، معرک مروت و حیا، ینبوع تاليف و صفا صاحب
سیف القلم، متفرق میان حق و باطل، زهر شناس، قانون علم و ادب، پیرست حق آگاه،
محب اہلبیت، و اهل اللہ میان غلام اللہ فقیر لغاری ادام اللہ عمرہ و اقبالہ
و امن اولاد و اخوانہ و اتباع از دست امیر المہادیج تراز ہیج آخوند عطاء اللہ
ولد مرحوم محمد اشرف، ساکن قصبہ برین بتاریخ بیست و ششم ماہ جمادی الثانی 1218
واقع حیدرآباد ضمیمہ بنیاد صورت اختتام یافت.
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
تاریخ 3- رمضان سنہ 1291 در شہر میران پور نوشتہ شد.

✓ NAWWĀB GHULĀM SHĀH : - was the son of Nawwāb Ghulāmullāh Khān. He served under Mir Nūr Muḥammad Khān, Mir Muḥammad Naṣir Khān, Mir Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, and Mir Shāhdād Khān respectively. He was a poet and a Sūfī. He composed a treatise on mystical thoughts in Persian prose, "¹⁵Āḥes-s-'ul-Āshiqeen". He collected the prescriptions on Tibb and named "¹⁵Nuskha-i-'Adviyāt". He also compiled another treatise on Taṣawwuf, "¹⁶Ghothiyā".

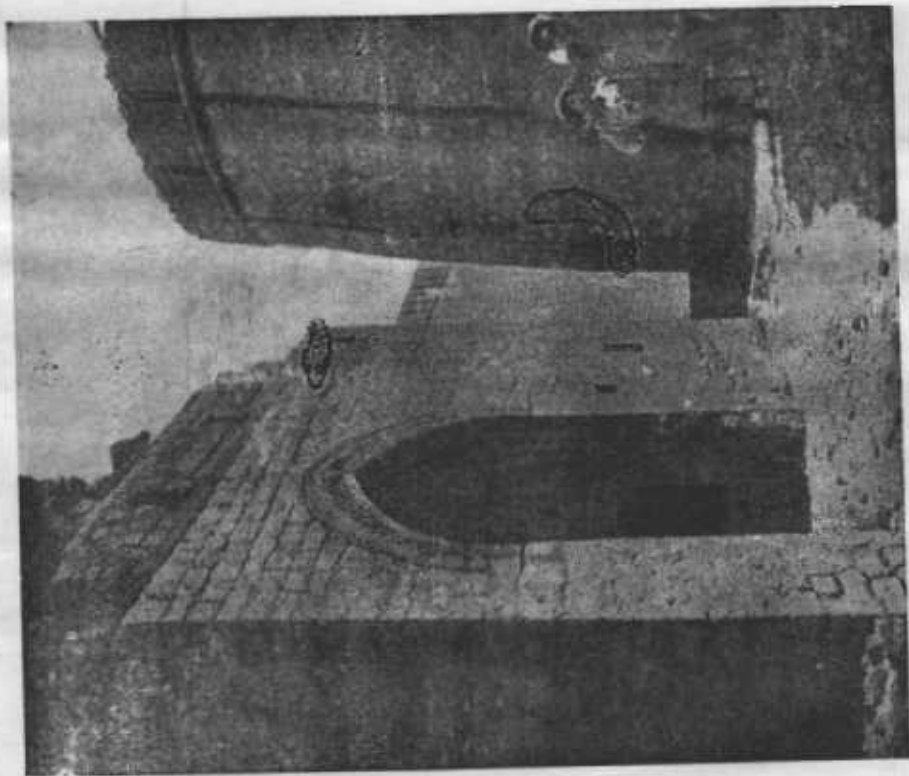
He died on 19th April, 1861 A.D./1278 A.H.

✓ NAWWĀB WALI MUḤAMMAD KHĀN LEḠHĀRI.

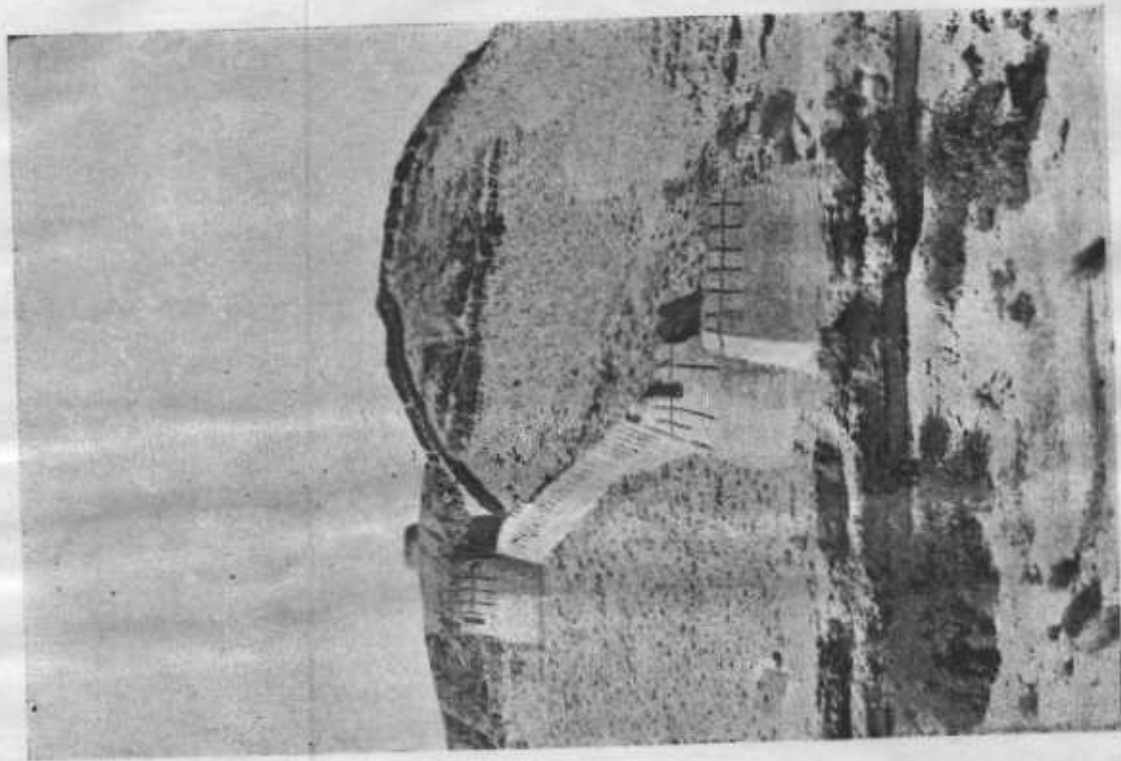
(1165-1247 A.H/1751-1831 A.D.).

¹⁷Nawwāb Walī Muḥammad Khān bin Ghulām Muḥammad Khān was born in 1165 A.H/1751 A.D, near 'Ubbpur' (present Taluqa Sinjhora, district Sānghar). He was the best advisor of the Tālpūrs and the ablest prime minister. He possessed excellent qualities. He was a capable statesman, warrior, a poet and a good scholar in Persian and Arabic. He built a fort '¹⁸Alībbād' alias "¹⁹Rani Kot", in 1234 A.H/1819 A.D. and its cost was estimated seventeen lacks of rupees. It is eighteen miles away from the historical town of "Sunn" to the South in a valley called "Naseen Rani".

Dr. James Burns writes about him, "²⁰The Nawwāb Wulāe Muḥammad Khān LeḠhāri, is by the Ameers themselves termed the Vizier of Sindh, and next to the principal members of the



1. 'Ali Ābād alias Rani Kot.
(Eighteen miles away from the historical town of "Sunn"
to the south in a valley).



2. A view of the Front Wall of 'Ali Ābād alias
Rani Kot.

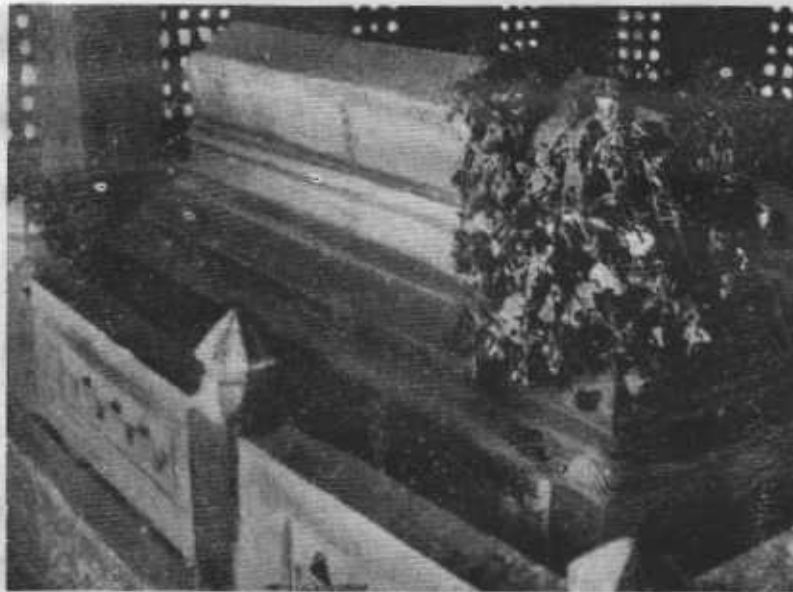
Tālpūr family, must be considered the most important personage under their government. Being himself the head of a powerful Baloch tribe, which contributed in the field to the elevation of the present rulers, he has ever since been their faithful and able servant, and seems to enjoy not only the entire confidence of his masters, but, what is rare indeed in a despotic government, the esteem and respect of the people. He is the advisor of the Ameer in the management of the internal affairs of the State and by his adroitness and mild demeanour, has it often in his power, and seldom loses an opportunity, to avert or mitigate the effects of those shocks of tyranny and oppression which emanate from their 'Darbār'.

A sincere regard for the interest of his masters has taught this old and respectable individual the necessity of maintaining a friendly intercourse with the British Government, and it is to his advice I owe not only my visit to Sindh, but the wish of the Ameer to detain me. Wullee Mohammed Khān ^{must} have attained the age of seventy; and it is to be feared, therefore death may soon deprive the Ameer of their best servant, and the people of Sindh, of their kindest protector".

Hawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān possessed a sound health, however, he was an old man of seventy eight in 1243 A.H/1827 A.D. When James Burns presumed him of Seventy. Mir Kerām 'Alī Khān died on Jamād-'ul-thāni 1244 A.H/ 1828 A.D and then Mir Murād



1. The Tomb of Nawwāb Wālī Muḥammad Khān Leghārī, (Hyderabad).



2. The grave of Nawwāb Wālī Muḥammad Khān Leghārī.

'Ali Khān succeeded him. The latter had a great confidence upon Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān and he remained vizier, as well as the advisor to him.

He died in Lārkāna on ²¹ 21st Zul-Qa'd 1247 A.H/1831 A.D and he was buried there. After wards his corpse was brought to Hydrābād and was buried to the North of Miyān Sarfrāz Khān's tomb at a little distance. The following words are

²² inscribed on his grave.

وفات یافت نواب مرحوم ولی محمد خان لفاری
تاریخ ۱۲۴۷ هـ ذی قعدة روز شنبه

Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān was a poet, physician and a learned man. He composed poems under nom-de-plume ²³ "Wali". He was a good Physician and Dr. James Burns writes about him :-

²⁴ "He has composed also several large folios on the subject of medicine, gleaned chiefly from the dreams and theories of the ancient, but which, being supposed original, have gained for him the character of a sage in Sindh. Among his works I must not omit a small book on the care of diseases written in the name of Meer Murād 'Ali, the merit of which is claimed by that prince".

²⁵ He composed a "Divān" which contains 243 verses. It was composed in 1222 A.H/1807 A.D. He also compiled two "Sāqī Nāma" in persian poetry. He compiled a 'mathnavi' ²⁶ "Hir-wa-Rānjhā" which contains 2060 distiches. It was composed at the desire of Mir Murād 'Ali Khān. Before this Ahmad Yār Khān "Yaktā" Lāhori, (1118-1147 A.H/1706-1734 A.D). Mir 'Aqeen

Tatāwī (1162-1229 A.H/1748-1813 A.D) and Munshī Shāhib
Rā-i-Azād(?) had composed "Mathnawī Hir-va-Ranjha", as he

27
8978

کرد فرمان شایسته مراد علی - بارشاد صمیم و حکیم جلی
که بکثرت تازه قصص و بیچون - صفت میرکن چو در روشن
پیشتر فیض شاعران گفتند - گوهر نظم در سخن سفند
یک کتاب است از اهرار لاهور - نظم او نیز شد با حسن طور
دیگر آزاد از مجد گفت - در معنی بنظم گوئی صفت
ثالث آن رسید بجزیب و کریم - سجع اسم و لیت میر عظیم

In Persian prose, he composed a book on medicines about which
Dr. Burns remarks have been mentioned; i.e. "Nuzhat-ul-'Abdān"
or "Tibb-i-Wali". This book contains 800 large size pages. It
was composed in 1212 A.H/1797 A.D. It contains 34 chapters
and every chapter is divided into sub-sections.

28
The "Muqaddima" (introduction) begins like this:-

حمد و سپاس حضرت کبریای حکیمیه بیچون که سرشت و لیت ابرار صمیم
استان از تحت شوالی ماء و طین و ظلمات لغات خاله نیستی بر آورده از روح
ذات امریت در وجود جان و تما و بر دست و ستایش و نیایش مالک -
الملک اعنی بزم آرای مسند رسالت و سلیقه الزارین سلطان سرور جلالت
محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم بهرامکان تضرع و ضراعت بجا آورده
از نهایت اجتهاد بشعری عقل درویش و افهام مفرد گزین بحیال تصنیف و انتخاب
نسخه طب "نزهة الابرار" که مسند است به "طب ولی" و مقرون خاطر
از کلیات حکمت بتراکیب ادویات علی جهت نظام صحت مزاج بشریت آنچه
از کتب معتبره از تشریح حکماء قدما بهر نسخه جات و بهر نسخه معتبره محقق
فائز گشته طب منشخ مجدد در سال 1212 یک هزار دوصد و دوازده
سال هجری مرقوم و مرتب ساخته -

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 این موصلت نامده است که در آن تسبیح از حق تعالی آمده است که هر که آن را بخواند
 توبه کند و خداوند اشتغال خواهد گرفت که هر که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 رضا و خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 بر خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 در خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 که اصل حق تعالی است که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در

1. "Ma-o-'izat Nāma": First page of the Manuscript, Written by Nawāb Walī Muḥammad Khān Leghārī.

این موصلت نامده است که در آن تسبیح از حق تعالی آمده است که هر که آن را بخواند
 توبه کند و خداوند اشتغال خواهد گرفت که هر که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 رضا و خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 بر خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 در خیر و در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 که اصل حق تعالی است که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در
 که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در خود گرفت که در نماز و دعا و توبه و انابه و در

2. "Ma-o-'izat Nāma": Last page of the Manuscript.

طالب این امور بتوکل علی الله از روی فهم ادراک کامل اگر بدوی امران
ایران انسان اشتغال خواهد گرفت سرآئینه بافضال ایند متعال گوهر
مرعای منفرد دامن مرادش نوازنده مشر - و بر برای طیبیان ارجمند و تجربه
کاران طبع بلند سببی فراهمی مجریات این مستند مستوره محتجب خواهند
ماند - الله المستعان وعلیه التکلان

He compiled a treatise on admonitions, named "Khīrad Nāma or
Neu'azet Nāma". It was composed in 1226 A.H/1811 A.D. When he
was 61 years old. He had discussed 52 various topics in this
treatise which depicts his sagacity and foresightedness. The
purpose of writing this book is stated in "muqaddima"²⁹

(introduction) in the following words :-

در این موعظت نامه ایست که در آن نصائح ارجمند تحریر یافته - اگر خود آموز
بحسن ادراک بمطالعه "خرد نامه" اشتغال خواهد گرفت گوهر تدبیر روزگار
منفرد دامن مرادش تواند گشت - چون گرد شات دور گردد و گوناگون رویکار
می گیرد اگر مشورت در آن رهنمای مشور - افزون جهت ایند خرد نامه "تعلیف
جبرید برای طالبان این مطلب ، حقیر بر تقصیر فهم بنده و بی خبری از لغاری در سال
یک هزار و دویست و بیست و شش هجری مرتب ساخت که یادگار روزگار
در شهر و دیار باشد

³⁰ Some of his sayings and ideas written in this treatise

given in original are:-

- محبت و مشورت و نشست و برخاست با اهل دانش و ستوده روزگار باید نمود.
- بهره روزی از گشت کار و تجارت و سایر اسباب انتفاع محبت را از دست نهد.
- انسان را باید که بد را ستیها دارد - حرکت و سکونت برآستی کند.
- قرض از کسی نباید گرفت اخراجات بموجب پیدایش باید کرد.

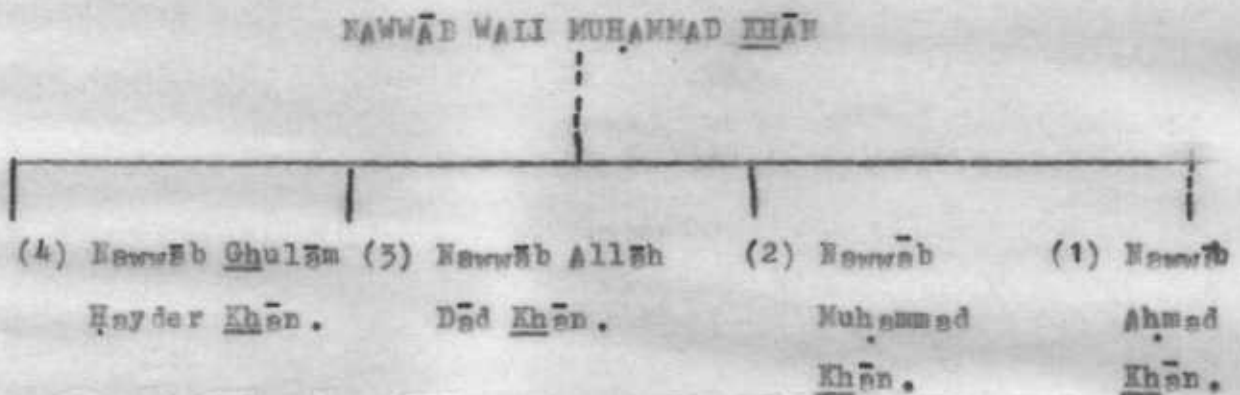
- باید که دل به بخل مائل نرزد - لباس اصیل مناسب فراخود رتبه خود باید کرد .
- در عرض ~~معرض~~ بحضور خاوندان نعمت بیغافه بطوالت عرض نباید پرداخت .
- کلفت انداختن در میان عهدگان باعث نقص اعزاز خود است .
- در میان حکومت و کامروائی عزت و عزت مردم آبرو طلب مرتفعر باید داشت .
- در کارهای مامور مانیده به نفس ذات خود اگر اتفاق اقتد بخدمات پردازد
- تقرر متوسلان و عزیزان خود نکند .
- هنگام رویکار جواب و سوال سر رشته تحمل و پرباری خود را در تکلمات فاحش از دست نهد .

- در حین شنیدنات روزگار دل شدید باید کرد و از مردانگی نباید گذشت - هر چند سختی رود دل راست از آن باید داشت
- انتظام ملک ببلشکر مال و خزانه است، سرانجامی خزانه از ملک و رعیت است، و آبروی رعیت بعدالت است .
- شاه را باید که نظر بر هدای انتظام مملکت خود دارد نه آنکه بجهت انتظام کارهای دیگران ناموس مملکت خود بربار دهد .

What ever ideas about the administration of a country Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān had in his mind, he used to act and promulgate them. There was peace and tranquility during his days in Sind. No Government Servant was allowed to misappropriate or to do injustice. He had appointed couriers in every nook and corner of the country, on which a large amount was spent. Mir Murād Ali Khān desired to curtail this expenditure; but he explained the importance of couriers to the prince and the latter continued this system.

Postans writes about him :- "Nawwāb Wali Muhammad's popularity in his memory is more highly cherished by all classes than that of any of the numerous chieftains who in the rapid rise and fall of the dynasties have attained emience in Sind; a tribute to virtue which it is refreshing to contemplate, where civilization has not yet planted her ameliorating standard".

He married twelve³³ wives but the number of his alive wives remained four. He left four³⁴ sons :-



1. Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Leghārī :- "Kalām Faqīr Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān;" (Introduction), by Dr.N.A.Baloch; P.16.
2. Op.Cit.P.16.
3. Op.Cit.PP. 16-17.
4. The only source about Nawwāb Ali Muhammad Khān is the "Introduction" by Dr.N.A.Baloch to "Kalām Faqīr Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān".
5. Khalīl :- "Takmilā-i-Maʿāzīlāt-'ul-Shuʿarā"; P.454.
6. Ghulām Muhammad Leghārī :- "Introduction" to "Divān-i-Ghulām"; by Dr.N. A. Baloch; PP.2-4; S. A. B. Karachi; 1959.
(See also "Kalām Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān) (Introduction); PP. 20-21.
7. Ibid; P.39.
8. Ibid; P.39.
9. Burns: "A narrative of a visit to the court of Sindh", P.104.
10. History of Alienation in the province of Sind; Vol:II ,
PP. 214 -215.
11. Burns: "A narrative of a visit to the court of Sindh"; pp.151-172.
12. Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Leghārī :- Op.Cit."introduction";
P.43.
13. Ibid; P.42.
14. Ibid; P.42.
15. Ibid; P.48.
16. Ibid; P.48.

16. Ibid; P.49.
17. Ibid; P.47. CHAPTER V.
18. Ibid; P.67.
19. Ibid; PP 83-84.
20. Burns - Op.Cit. PP. 106-107.
21. Munshi 'Atā Muhammad - "Nawā-i-Mā'rik"; P.272.
22. Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān - Op. Cit. (Introduction); P.93.
23. "Khalil" - "Takhmilā"..... P.622.
24. Burns - "A narrative"..... PP.107-108.
25. "Khalil" - "Takhmilā"..... PP. 625-626.
26. Ibid; P.626.
27. Ibid; P.626.
28. Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān - Op.Cit."Introduction"; PP.102-103.
29. Ibid; P.104.
30. Ibid; PP.104-105.
31. Munshi 'Atā Muhammad"; Op.Cit; P.273.
32. Postans,T: "Personal Observations on Sindh"; P.208.
33. Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān - Op.Cit. (Introduction) P.107.
34. Ibid; P.111.

CHAPTER V.

"THE BRITISH PERIOD" .

(MARCH 1843- 13 TH AUGUST

1947/1259- 1366 A.H.) .

Sind was conquered by the English in 1259 A.H./1843A.D. Sir Charles Napier, the Victor of Miani was put in 'Political charge of Sind as a Governor'. He tried his level best to establish peace and tranquility in the Province for the progress. He rooted out many inhuman customs like slavery and wife-murder. He did not change the land revenue system of Talpurs. His policy was to discourage the claims of Zamindars and to deal directly with the occupants of land.

But his schemes for the progress of province could not be put into execution for, in 1262 A.H/²1847 A.D. he was deputed to Multan with an army against Mulkraj who had revolted there.

At this time the province was annexed to the Bombay presidency and Mr. Pringle became the first Commissioner of Sind. He could not remain for a long and resigned in 1850 A.D/1267 A.H. He was succeeded by a farsighted and capable Officer (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere (1851-1859 A.D/1268-1276 A.H). He did many reforms in Sind. He built the harbour of Karachi. The introduction of first railway in Sind from Karachi to Kotri was done during his days. He opened local self-governing

was done during his days. He opened local self-governing institution in Sind. At his suggestions the Mirs were allowed to return to their native place.

Sir Burtle Frere desired to render official status to the Sindhi Language and he persisted upon the Civil Servants for the study of Sindhi if they want to have their promotions³. He work out and developed a script of Sindhi and facilitated its study by providing scholarships, prizes and prospects of government jobs. The controversy upon the script was decided in 1853 A.D./1270 A.H. by the court of Directors of the East India company and 'Arabic-Sindhi' script⁴ was accepted instead of Devanagari character. Mr. (Afterwards Sir Barrow) Ellis, the then collector of Hyderabad was given the task of devising an alphabet, and the "present Sindhi alphabet is the result of his efforts⁵".

Besides this English was introduced and the best efforts were put to popularize its education. Captain Freedy, Collector of Karachi opened the "Karachi Free School" in 1845 A.D./1262 A.H. and in 1853 A.D./ 1270 A.H. he handed over it to the "Church Mission Society". Captain Goldsmid opened an English School in Shikarpur. Within the short period of ten years the British government started an educational institutions in Sindh at Karachi. (i.e. N.J.V. High School) which was supported to some extent by the Municipality. The people of

Sindh took keen interest in education and government encouraged

Sind took keen interest in education and government encouraged them by providing sufficient aids. In the twentieth century many educational institutions were opened (about 1400) containing 70,000 male students⁶. The female education too was flourishing and during the last years of the nineteenth century there were 137 girl's Schools with 4,467 pupils, and 4 normal or Training Colleges for women⁷. The following chart will show the number of educational Institution in the early twentieth Century⁸:-

	Number of Institutions.	Schools		Total.
		Male.	Female.	
Public Arts College	1	122	-	122
Secondary Schools	39	4,668	454	5,122
Primary Schools.	1,306	50,026	8,855	58,881
Training Schools.	5	121	27	148
Other Special Schools.	8	292	3	295
Private Schools.	826	8,839	1,849	11,688
Total	2,185	65,068	11,188	76,256

It is obvious that the education in British period eliminated the persian language save the old Madrasahs which continued imparting education in persian and Arabic. This great change was natural, because persian was not the native language of the Sindhis and as well as it was foreign language for the Britishers. Persian had remained the Court Language of the Tālpūrs and a vehicle of expression. But the new regime found it unwise to patronize a language which was not their spoken tongue. More over all the Official correspondence was made in English or Sindhi Language which replaced the Persian. Besides this the relationship of Persia and Sind during the Tālpūr period before the advent of Britishers became to an end when the latter ruled over Sind. Even then three persian weeklies viz. "Mufarrih-ul-Qulūb" (the First-journal in Persian started in 1855 A.D/1272 A.H.) "Khurshid" and "Iklil" came into existence in 1887 A.D/ 1305 A.H.

These ^{news papers} tried to preserve the status of Persian language. But the new Social, Political and economic forces affected and the domination of the West in the modern sciences gave secondary place to the Persian Language. Persian became the literary and an old type of language and remained in the ¹⁰curricula of old Madrasahs. Some of the poets and scholars

like Faqir Qādir Bakhsh "Bedil", (d. 1289 A.H/1872 A.D), Mir Shāhādāt Khān "Haydarī" (d. 1274 A.H/1857 A.D) Mir Husayn 'Alī Khān "Husayn" (d. 1295 A.H/1878 A.D) Qādi Ghulām 'Alī "Jāfari" (d. 1303 A.H/ 1886 A.D), Makhdūm Ibrāhīm Khālil Tattāwī (d. 1317 A.H/1899 A.D), and others sprang in these dying days of Persian language.

FAQIR QĀDIR BAKHSH alias 'ABDUL-QĀDIR "BEDIL".

(1230-1289 A.H/1814-1872 A.D).

Faqir Qādir Bakhsh was the son of Muḥammad Muḥsin Hanafī, Qādiri and was born in ¹¹ 1230 A.H/ 1814 A.D. He learnt Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. He was well-versed in theology, Ḥadīth, mysticism and eloquence. His Takhalluṣ was "Bedil" and he is well-known mystical Dervish. In his teens he used to remain in silence and absorption and many times after diving in the river Indus he remained there for a long time and the people were in suspicion whether the boy has flown away. ¹³ He was very much impressed by the company of the Dervishes and finding an inner urge for spiritual emancipation, he sought the guidance of Sayyid Jān-'ullāh Shāh of Rohri. ¹⁴ Eventually, he left his native place Rohri and accompanied with a Dervish ¹⁵ (?) of Panjāb and went to pay a homage to the shrine of Qalandar Lāl "Shahbāz" (d. 673 A.H/1274 A.D) attending the shrine of "Lāl Shahbāz" for a short period he was 'vouchsafed spiritual

¹⁶
visions.

Faḍlir 'Abd-ūl Qādir was a Sūfī and Ḥanafī. He says

¹⁷
regarding his religion:-

أَنَا الشَّيْخِيُّ وَلَكِنْ لَا أَبْرِي - مِنَ الْخُلَفَاءِ وَمُسْتَوْجِبُ الْهَدَايَةِ
أَنَا السُّنِّيُّ وَلَكِنْ قَائِلُ الْفَضْلِ - لِقَامِ حَبِيبِ أَوَّلِي الْوَلَايَةِ

(I am a Shi'ite, but I do not indulge in Tabarra (Slogans
condemnation) towards the Caliphs because they (too) are the
lamps of Guidance ;

I am a Sunni I hold the conqueror of Khaybar as pre-
-eminent and master of the domain¹⁸).

We know that he was Sūfī (mystic) distinguished by
spiritual purity, and his works in Persian, Sindhi, Sirā'iki
and Urdū particularly in Persian and Sindhi are replete with
the spiritual topics. Dr. Sādarangāni¹⁹ has given the complete
list of his eighteen compositions both in prose and poetry. But
we give here only the list of his Persian prose works.

1. Saḥed-ūl-Muwashshidīn (Authoritative work for Monothe-
-ists) is an exposition of the Fundamental of Sūfism
in prose and poetry and is interspersed with relevant
sayings of some eminent saints and scholars of Sindh
and other places.
2. Taḥwīyat-ūl-Qulūb Fi Tadhkirat-ūl-Mahbūb -

(The tonic for human Heart in Remembrance of the
Beloved) is a prose work which discusses Tasawwuf in
the light of some mystic formulas.

3. ²⁰
PANJ GANJ (FIVE TREASURES) :-

It is a prose work containing spiritual maxims, and is divided into 40 chapters, each called a 'Darja'. Each Darja has in its turn five sections called 'Manazil' and furnishes pertinent matter from the Holy Qur'ān, the Tradition, the Mathnawi-i-Maulavi, Risālo of Shāh 'Abdūl Latīf of Bhit (in Sindhi) and the miscellaneous writings or sayings of some other saints.

4. QURRAT-'UL-'AYNAYN FI MANAZIL-'UL-SIPTAYN :-

3. PANJ GANJ (FIVE TREASURES) -

It is a prose work containing spiritual maxims, and is divided into 40 chapters, each called a 'Darja'. Each Darja has in its turn five sections called 'Manazil' and furnishes pertinent matter from the Holy Qur'ān, the Tradition, the Mathnawī-i-Maulavi, Risālo of Shāh 'Abdūl Latīf of Bhīt (in Sindhi) and the miscellaneous writings or sayings of some other saints.

4. QURRAT-'UL-'AYNAYN FI MANĀQIBI-'UL-SIBTAYN -

(The cooling of the Eyes with the Praises of the (Prophet's) grand-Children (i.e. Imām Ḥasan and Ḥusayn) is written on the lines of Mullā Kāshifis "Rauz-'ul-Shuhada". This book is in prose and verse in which the poet has recited 29 Traditions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), which demonstrate his special attachment for his above mentioned grandsons.

5. FI BĀṬN-'UL-AḤĀDIYH :-

(In the Interior (spirit) of the Tradition). It is a scholarly interpretation (in Persian) some of six traditions.

6. LUGHĀT-I-MIZĀN-I-TIBB :-

It is a Persian Glossary of difficult medical terms.

7. INSHĀ-I-QĀDIRI :-

It is a collection of 10 epistles with different modes of address and writing.

1. Mirzā Qaslich Beg : " History of Sind", Vol. II ; P. 239.
2. Op.Cit P. 239.
3. Aitken : "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind", Vol. A P. 148.
4. Sadarangani Dr : "Persian Poets of Sind", P. 234.
5. The Journal of S.H.S : Vol : VI, No. 4 ; P. 356 September, 1943.
6. Aitken : " Gazetteer of the Province of Sind", P. 476.
7. Sadarangani Dr : Op.Cit. P. 235.
8. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XXII ; P. 431 ; 1908.
9. Sadarangani Dr : Op.Cit. P. 236.
10. Ibid ; PP. 236-237.
11. 'Abdul-Husayn Shāh Mūsavi : "Divān-i-Badil" ;
(Introduction) ; P. 5. S.A.B. Hyderabad, 2nd edition ; 1961.
12. Lutf'ullāh Badvi : " Tadhkira-i-Lutfi ; Vol : III ; P. 205.
13. Ibid ; P. 206.
14. Sadarangani Dr : Op.Cit. P. 243.
15. Lutf'ullāh Badvi : Op.Cit. P. 207.
16. Sadarangani Dr : Op.Cit. P. 243.
17. 'Abdul-Husayn Shāh Mūsavi : Op.Cit ; (Introduction) ; P. 37.
18. Sadarangani Dr : Op.Cit. P. 246.
19. Ibid ; PP. 243 to 246.
20. A.H. Shāh Mūsavi : Op.Cit. PP. 67-68.

MAKHḌŪM MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHIM "KHALIL" TATTAWI

(1243-1317 A.H/1827-1899 A.D.)

Makhḍūm Muḥammad Ibrāhīm "Khalil" Tattawī was born in Jamād'ul-Awwal 1243 A.H/ 25th July 1827 A.D. He has given his date of birth in his book "Takmilā-i-Maḡāṣil¹ul-Shu'arā". He acquired his early education in Thatta. At the age of eight years he completed the recitation of Holy Qur'ān. Then he learnt persian and studied "Gulistān" and "Bastān" from his father and grand-father². After that he studied Nahve (Syntax), Mantiq (Logic) Ḥadīth (Sayings of Holy Prophet); Tafsīr (exegesis of Holy Qur'ān), Fiqh (Jurisprudence) and 'uṣūl-i-Ḥadīth (fundamentals of Ḥadīth)³. "Khalil" had keen interest in poetry as well asⁱⁿ prose. His father Makhḍūm 'Abd-ul-Karīm was also a poet⁴. So "Khalil" started poetry from the early stage of his life. He writes that he started saying poems from the age of 14th years when he was still a student⁵. In the beginning his Takhalluṣ was "Miskeen". This shows his inclination towards Sūfis (mystics). But later on he changed it to the relevancy to his name "Khalil". In Sindhi his "Takhalluṣ" is "Udāsī"⁶. He has tried to compose the poems in Hindī⁷ (Urdū) too. He had compiled two collection of letters, and they are in "Divān -i-Miskeen", known as "Kashkhal-i-Miskeen". The collection of letters which are in 'Divān-i-Khalil' have been

named as "Mā-e-dah-i-Khelil".⁸

He had written a booklet on the life of his grand-father Makhdūm Ghulām Hayder and he has given the name of that booklet as "Tuhfat-ul-Faqir".⁹ According to Sayyid Husām-ul-Din Rāshidī's research no book is found except "Divān-i-Khelil".¹⁰

Khelil died at the age of 74 in 1317 A.H/ 12th May 1899 A.D.¹¹

When Khelil was 12 months old, Mir Karam 'Ali Khān "Karam" died (i.e. 1244 A.H/ 1828 A.D.). After that, the last ruler of Tālpūr dynasty Mir Murād 'Ali Khān "Ali" became the sovereign. He was like his brother the patronizer of learned men and the assayer of the poetry and poets. He ruled for six years and died in 1249 A.H/ 1833 A.D.¹² This was the period when Britishers were coming to Sind and at that time the age of "Khelil" was seventeen years and he had almost completed his education in Arabic and Persian.

"TAKMILĀ-I-MAQĀLĀT-UL-SHU'ARĀ."

Makhdūm Muhammad 'Ibrāhīm Khelil composed this book as an appendix or a supplement on Qānī's book "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā". "Khelil" wrote this book after forty years of the death of Mir Qānī. Mir Qānī composed "Maqālāt-ul-Shu'arā", in 1175 A.H/ 2nd August 1761 A.D and he has given all the account of his contemporary poets and persian poets of Sind. After

that his son, Mir "Mā-'il" wrote "Majma-'ul-Balaghā. But unfortunately the book is not found any where. Perhaps "Khalil" has given the account of persian poets after "Mir Mā-'il's" ¹³ work.

"Khalil" has not written the date of completion of his "Takmilah-i-Maqālāt-¹⁴ul-Shu'arā," but it has been composed in 1307 A.H or 1308 A.H/1889 or ¹⁵1890 A.D. This book contains the account of the poets very briefly. The author does not give the date of death of his contemporary poets even. Sayyid Husām-¹⁶ul-Din Rāshidi (the editor), has taken keen interest and has endeavoured to give the dates accurately. He has also given the genealogy of some celebrated poets and writers. Besides this he has given an appendix to Takmilah, "Khalil", (the author of the book), gives the account of 82 poets. He also mentions their works. But some of their works in prose and poetry are not found. Had it been better if the author would have given some extracts from their prose works. But his aim was to describe their poetry in this book. It is merely an appendix to "Maqālāt-¹⁷ul-Shu'arā" of Qāni. So he has avoided from giving the extracts of the prose work. He has only given the names of the books written on prose. The book is valuable and it can be referred for the poets and writers.

1. Qānī, "Tekmila-i-Maqālāt-ūl-Shu'arā" (Persian Text);

PP. 210-167; See also its "Muqaddima" P. 21.

فقیر کاتب الحروف بتاریخ جمادی الاوّلی در یک هزار و دو صد و پچهل و سه (۵۱۲۴۳)
از عدم بوجو دو از عینب بشهود رسید. و تاریخ ولود بسیار اند، از آنجمله یک
تاریخ بیاد فقیر است:-
سال میلاد مدیقتی بمرالهام گفت دل،
دو گوهر درج شرف علم لدن (۵۱۲۴۳)

2. Ibid; P. 210.

3. Ibid; PP 210-211-212, See also "Muqaddima", P. 23.

4. Ibid; P. 515.

5. Ibid; P. 506 (See also "Muqaddima"; PP. 24-25.).

6. Ibid; P. 213.

7. Ibid; P. 213.

و بی زبان هنری هر چه کج مع کرده ام در آن هم تخلص "مسکین" است. و زبان
هنری را فقیر ندانند، مگر از سبب اثر صفت سید غلام محمد "گدا" تخلص که
چار پنج روز در بده بوده و ذکرش در باب الکاف بیاید. و "دیوان ناسخ" و "آبار"
و "آتش" را دیده شد، از آن اینقدر اثری شده که چند غزل گفته شد

8. Ibid; PP 212-213.

و درین وقت آملین من "مسکین بود" و "دیوان مسکین" تمام شد و درین ضمن
آنچه مکاتیب جمع شدند نام آنها در کتکول مسکین "بروم..... والحمد لله
که "دیوان خلیل" هم تمام گردید. و درین ضمن آنچه مکتوبات تالیف
شدند، آنها را در انشای مائده خلیل نامیدند

9. Ibid; PP. 190-191

10. Ibid; "Muqaddima of Tekmila" P. 31.

11. Ibid; P. 250 (See also its "Muqaddima"; PP. 31-32)

12. Ibid; P. 730.

13. Ibid; P. 33.

14. Ibid; P. 34.

KHĀN BAHĀDUR KHUDĀDĀD KHĀN

(1318 A.H. / 1900 A.D.).

Khān Bahādur Khudādād Khān was son of Radū Muḥammad Khān alias Radū Khān. His family settled in Sindh, at Sukkur (old town). His family hailed from the Tareen tribe of the Pethān, though the author writes his surname as "Afghān". Before their migration to Sindh, they were settled at Pishen in the present Quetta Division. Sher Khān Tareen was from his ancestors. He came from Pishen and attached Gandava, during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and occupied it. As we find in the author's own history :-
ولی شیرخان تریں از "شک" ایضاً کرده برگنجایه "قابض گشت و این شیرخان
بر مله، خانبهادر خرد خان مولف این "لی تاریخ سنده" بوده است.

There was an elder brother to the author named 'Allāh dād', who died in 1301 A.H./1888 A.D.² Both the brothers were born at Sukkur. It is really pitiable that we are unable to find out the actual birth date of the author. But his birth-date might be 1338 A.D./1254 A.H.³

HIS EDUCATION.

It is said that he has been educated at a village 'Naktab' near Chiman, Taluqa Sukkur of the present Sukkur

2. Khudā Dād Khān - Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sindh; Persian Text; PP. 77-78.

district by 'Ākhūnd 'Allāh Bakhsh⁴. In that Maktab, he learnt Sindhi, Persian and some 'Arabic. Then he sought admission in another Maktab at Shāh Khayr-'ul-Din's Mosque at old town of Sukkur. He continued his studies there when an English Officer, Major Frederic Goldsmid, who was the Inspector of Schools (Nāzir-i-Madāris), accidentally visited the Maktab. He was much impressed by the intelligence of Khūdādād and took the boy under his own care by the permission of his own father.

AS A GOVERNMENT SERVANT.

Khūdādād Khān was employed in British Service by the patronage of Major Goldsmid. Being a younger age, he was employed firstly as a Clerk (Munshi), in 1853 A.D/1270 A.H⁵ under the judicial Deputy Magistrate at Shikārpūr. The above said year of his employment is not correct, because we find in "Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind" on p.165, where it is plainly stated that in the beginning of 1854 A.D/1271 A.H his employment took place in the political Department following few months service under the Deputy Magistrate Shikārpūr. So he was employed at Shikārpūr sometime in the second half of the year 1853 A.D/ 1270 A.H⁵. He served on permanent basis in the political and Jāgirs Department in the beginning of 1854 A.D/ 1271 A.H under Col.Frederic Goldsmid, from the time

when that Department was functioning with the Commissioner's Secretariate upto 1857 A.D./1274 A.H. At that time he was drawing a salary of Rupees 30, per month as a 'First Munshi', Revenue Department. He got Rs.30 more, as allowances from other Departments in September 1867 A.D/ 1283 A.H.

In 1869 A.D, he became 'First Munshi' in the Commissioner's Office and as a 'Munshi' in the 'Registration Department' he got Rs. 135 P.M. He was also getting some additional amount for assisting the school examinations. He was promoted from 'First Munshi' to the post of Second Class Extra Assistant Collector in 1880 A.D. / 1294 A.H. In 1882 A.D/ 1300 A.H. he was entrusted some important matters regarding Jāgirs. He worked in the Jāgir Department at Rs.200 P.M. for a period of a year. After that he got Rs.100 P.M. from the Political Department. The Registration Department was abolished and the author was appointed to the post of "Mukhtiar-kār grade 4th at Rs.150 P.M. in 1891 A.D/1308 A.H, his basic salary was increased to Rs. 175 P.M. and in 1893 A.D/ 1310 A.H. it was increased to Rs.200 plus additional allowances. The author served to British Government about 45 years, and he retired in May 1899.

He gained the confidence of his superiors and through out his service period, he remained loyal and trusted servant. Due to his honesty and integrity he was assigned the most special duties.

1. In 1859 A.D./ 1276 A.H., he accompanied Major Fredric Goldsmid on a Secret Division to Jessalmir and Pokran in Marwar.
2. In 1861 A.D./1278 A.H., ^{he} went to Gharo, Makli, Thatta, Hyderabad and Sehwan from Karachi with Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay; J.D. Inverarity, the Commissioner of Sind also accompanied with them.
3. In May 1861 A.D/ 1278 A.H., he joined an important secret mission Major Henry Green, the Political Superintendent upper Sind, Frontier to Gowader and Ormara.
4. In the same year he associated with major Goldsmid to Makran for telegraph line in Las Bela and Qalat.
5. In 1862 A.D/1297 A.D., he accompanied Major Goldsmid to Bombay in connection with the identification of the Photographs of dignitaries of Sind.
6. In 1863 A.D/ 1279-80 A.H., he went with the Sind Commissioner Mr.S.Mansfield and other Officers from Karachi to Persian Gulf and from there passing through Bushhr and Basrah to Baghdad.
7. In 1864 A.D/ 1280 A.H., he again joined the Commissioner Mr. Mansfield to the Barharha Mountain, via Larkana, ~~Barharha Mountain, Barharha and Karachi~~ and he stayed
8. Khud-Dad Khan - Op.Cit; PP. 171-172.

Naqirābād Pir Godrah, Dedak and Karāchi and he stayed within
for five months.¹⁹

8. In 1870, he went with the Sind Commissioner Sir William
Mere Weather who went to Jacobābād for the negotiation
between the Khān of Qalāt and the Sardārs of Būlān pass
and Mithri, who revolted against the Khān.²⁰

9. In the beginning of 1871 when the Sind and Panjāb
boundary line was being settled the author went with
Sir Mere weather from Sukkur to Chachran-Mithankot
through Bahāwelpār.²¹

10. He again went with Sir Mere Weather by the end of
1871 A.D. who had to meet the Viceroy of India, Lord
North Brooke passed through Sukkur, Hyderābād and Karāchi.²²

11. In 1880 A.D/ 1294 A.H. he was appointed to arrange the
confused record in Commissioner's Office belonging to
the Jāgir grants.²³

12. He was offered to compile the history of Jāgir grants,
which was completed in 1886 A.D.²⁴

13. In 1888 A.D/ 1301 A.H. he was assigned the charge of the
entourage of Sardār Muhammad 'Ayūb Khān son of the late
'Amir Sher 'Ali Khān, (the ruler of Afghānistān), who came
from Irān, having accompanied with more than 1200 persons,

to be host to them and arrange for their meals at Kotri, Rohri and Rati on their Railway journey through the province of Sind.²⁵

14. In 1886-87 A.D./ 1204 A.H., Lord Esay, the Governor of Bombay, came in Karachi²⁶ for performing the inauguration ceremony of the Lands downe Bridge on the Indus between Rohri and Sukkur, and the Commissioner, Sir Charles Pritchard, choosed the experienced author to associate with him to Sukkur on this occasion. This was the fourteenth time that the author was assigned a special duty.

We find that the author was a trusted servant of the British Government, having clean loyalty record, for which he was time to time duly rewarded. In the beginning of 1859 A.D./ 1276 A.H., he accompanied with Sir Frederic Goldsmid for an entourage through 'Umarkot to Jessalmir and from there to Pokran and other places to meet Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Jessalmir, and Thakur Rhabut Singh of Pokran. They stayed in "Mārwar" about three years and at last returned to Rohri. He got a merit certificate, one sword, cloth for 'turban' (of honour) and a Benares-made Shāl, for his devoted Services with major goldsmid in Jessalmir and Pokran.²⁷

He also received a reward of a sword in recognition of his valuable services from the acting Commissioner in 19th September 1867 A.D.²⁸

He was awarded a merit certificate; "Sangd" (dated September 16, 1868 A.D.), and a sword by the Commissioner Sir William More weather and in 1876 A.D./1291 A.H. he recommended to the Government of India that the author be rewarded with a merit Certificate. When Sir William More Weather was leaving Sind, he conferred a sword and Rs: 300 in cash to the author. In July 1898 A.D./ 1316 A.H. when Commissioner H.E.M. James was leaving he awarded to the author a sword with silver handle Rs.2,000 in cash, and a medal with an inscription showing the author's long and meritorious services to the Government. In 1885 A.D. the author was given the title of "Khān Sāhib".

All the Assistant Commissioners were kind to him. He possessed the tact and talent to perform his various duties under political Department and also other special duties assigned to him. In 1867 A.D. Mr. Havelock, the acting Commissioner was very much impressed by his efficiency of handling the situations and he put a note to the effect that, "Munshi" "Khūdādād" would prove to be a good police Officer.

It is a matter of fact that he succeeded due to the knowledge of more than one language; Dr. N.A. Baloch says:- "His success in service was also due to his working knowledge of more than one language at a time when the British Officers having newly conquered the country needed trust worthy servants who could serve as interpreters between the rulers and ruled.

The author was able to speak and served as a translator in 'Persian', Arabic and Balochi'. He could also speak Urdu, and once he replied to an address given to him in Hindustani³⁵. He knew Pashtu and a little English in which he could speak and write. He was the examiner in the education Department for the Sindhi language and Sindhi was his mother tongue. He was also familiar to the archaeology and history, the arts and the crafts of Sind. He was the member of the V.J. Technical Institute Khetarpur.

He lived a short period of $31\frac{1}{2}$ years (May 1899-December 1902) of retired life at his home Sukkur, during this period³⁶ he was time to time invited to the various important official functions and darbars where he was usually given seat near the Commissioner. The author also arranged parties in honour of high Officials. The Commissioner H.E.M. James accepted the author's invitation in March 10, 1900 and arrived at his Banglow at old Sukkur town, accompanied with Assistant³⁷ Commissioner.

During May-June 1900, he invited some other high Officials at the time of their transfer from Sukkur. These are³⁸ the last events recorded in present work after the completion (June, 1900) of which little is known about the remaining

two and half years of the author's life. It is supposed that he might have devoted these last days to prayers. In 1902 A.D. he built^a mosque, as is indicated by the following inscriptions:-

قطعہ تاریخ تعمیر مسجد
آن خانبہادر خرداد خان - چو سہ ماختہ معبد عجائب
تاریخ لطیف گفت ہاقت - اللہ چہ مسجد غرائب
۱۹۰۲
چو مسجد سہ ماختہ آن خان خرداد - کہ دروی طاعت رب العہد
لطیف قادری تاریخ تعمیر - بگفتا: خانہ محمد خواوند
۱۳۲۰ھ مطابق ۱۹۰۲

The author died in 1903 (Sunday, 4th Shawwāl 1320 A.H.), and he was buried in the mosque which was built by him.

The author left two sons, 'Aghā 'Abdul Majīd Khān, who became Deputy manager Incumbered state, and Aghā, 'Abd-ul Hamīd Khān who is still living in Sukkur (old town).

LUBB-I-TĀRIKH-I-SIND.

This is the author's main work, which was compiled at the will of H.E.M. James, who remained Commissioner of Sind in 1889-1900 A.D.⁴⁰ The author has devoted the most of the part of his book to the British period. The author's aim was to write the account of contemporary events, especially, the British rule in Sind. Although the author is unable to criticise and judge the matters impartially even then he has shown himself loyal to the British Government. He has related chronologically the important and indispensable events from the over thrown of

the Tālpūr rule to the British conquest of Sind in 1843 to 1900 A.D. The author, through frequent references, has intentially recorded his record of service, from his first appointment to his retirement. He has also mentioned such events, which he has witnessed. The author has depicted the information for fifty years of British rule in Sind, and mostly he has recorded the events of political importance.

The author has composed the history of Sind, prior to the British period and has referred indifferently the famous histories of Sind, such as "Chach- Nāma", Tārīkh-i-Sind, by Mir Ma⁴¹ṣūm, Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī by Mir Tāhīr Muḥammad Nisyanī, Arghūn Nāma (or Tāykhān Nāma) Baglār Nāma and Tuhfatul-Kirām.

The author's information about the persons known to him and the places which he visited is original and laudable. He met with the descendants of the Last Mughal Governor of ⁴¹ Bekher and he gives the names of the chief (Sardār) of the ⁴² the Channas, the Sardārs of ⁴³ Likhis and the chiefs of other important communities, who possessed the power in the ⁴⁴ northern Sind. The author met many persons of high rank during his service time. He had direct contact with the Commissioners in Sind and most of the Governors of Bombay knew him personally. The ruler of Afghānistān Amīr Sher 'Alī Khān was also well acquainted with him. He had close contact with Sayyid Shāh Mardān Shāh 'Pāgāro' and dignitaries and nobles of

Tālpūrs of Sind.

Whatever information about the contemporary persons and events, should have been given by an historians can never be expected in this work. The serious student of history is to find originality except those persons to whom he met or he had contact with them. He could not present a work, which would throw a light to the events impartially.

The author's style and expression is not lucid. The style is quite defective; as at those days the teaching of persian in the indigenous schools had deteriorated, and the knowledge of persian remained weak. The use of idioms of persian is also defective.

The chronology is confused. The author gives the christian era as well as Hijra. But the authentic is Christian chronology. The author completed 'Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind' on Friday 7, Rabi'⁴⁵I, 1318/ July 5, 1900.

Firstly the book was published at Riyāḍ-i-Hind press Amratar in 1318 A.H/ 1900 A.D. Besides this work, the author has compiled following monographs.

1. WAQĀ' I SAIR-I-JESALMIR.

The author visited Jessalmir and Pokran in Marwar

in 1859 / 1276, with Major Frederic Goldsmid. They spent three months on this mission. They started via Umarmkot and came back to Sind via Rohri. The author has narrated the account of this journey in this monograph. It is published in 1867 / ⁴⁶1283.

2. MAKRAN NAMA :-

This monograph is compiled during the term of office of Mr. Inverarity. The author accompanied Major Goldsmid to Legbale and Makran, and he visited Miyani, Pasni, Ormara, and Gowader in 1861 / ⁴⁷1278. The party spent two months and returned by steam-boat from Gowader to Karachi.

3. KHALIJ NAMA :-

The author made a journey from Karachi to Persian Gulf and from there to Baghdad with the Commissioner Mr. Mansfield in 1863 / ⁴⁸1280. He has given a full description of this journey in his diary entitled Khalij Nama. It has been published in 1866 / ⁴⁹1282.

4. AN ACCOUNT OF HISTORICAL PLACES :-

The author compiled an account of the following historical places at the end of 1869 / 1289 at the order of Commissioner Sir William Merv Weather, Mangho Pir, Shah Bilawal, detailed account of this journey in this monograph.

Lahūt, Darwat and Ranikot in the then Karachi district.

IN HYDERABAD DISTRICT.

Nasarpur, Tando Fādl Tālpūr, Makhdūm Nūh (Hālā), Rahmki Bazar and Lāl Odoro.

IN SHIKARPUR DISTRICT.

Khawāja Khidr, Mir Muhammad Ma⁵¹sum's Minār, Shāh Khayr-ud-Din, Qāsim Khānī, and Bakhar fort. This account was composed in Sindhi by the author and it was translated into English by the government translator. Both English and Sindhi versions were published and distributed among the officials in Sind as well as in Britain. The author had many copies of Sindhi edition and a few of the English edition while he was writing 'Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind'.⁵¹

5. PUL- NANA :-

This monograph is named after the Landsdowne Bridge on the Indus, between Rohri and Sukkur. This Bridge was opened by Lord Reay, governor of Bombay in 1886-87 A.D /⁵²
1304 A.H. The author was present at that time. After opening ceremony of the Bridge he accompanied Commissioner Sir Charles Pritchard and they proceeded to Quetta, from where they went to Chaman and Shāh Bagh near Qandhār. The author has given a detailed account of this journey in this monograph.⁵³

6. SIXHAT NAMA :-

In 1892 A.D/ 1309 A.H., the author went on one month's leave for recreation and voyaging. During this period, he visited Bombay, Poona, Rājkot, Ahmedābād, Ajmer, Delhi, Amrātsar and other places and he returned to Sukkur. In this monograph, the author has given a date-wise account of his ⁵⁴ journey.

The monograph begins ⁵⁵ :-

سبحان ربی الاعلی
بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
لَا اِلهَ اِلَّا هُوَ الْحَیُّ الْقَیُّوْمُ
لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَیْءٍ قَدِیْرٌ
پس از حمد و ثنای قادر مطلق و رازق برحق که قدرت کامله
او متجاوز الحد و حکمت بالغه منش لا تقو لا تحصى است

The author ends his voyage at his own native place, Sukkur

and he ⁵⁶ writes :-

قصه کوتاه به سبب من صبیحی بتاريخ دیوم ماه ستمبر ۱۸۹۳ ع مطابق تاریخ
دیوم ماه ربیع الاول سنه ۱۳۱۵ هـ واقع بیناستیشن پافوردگاه سکھر
گازی رسیده

7. KHAYR PŪR NĀMA :-

This is a monograph on the history of Khayrpūr state. He has discussed the events of Mir 'Alī Murād Khān's ⁵⁷ period, and his death and about his body; which was taken to Karbala. The book was published in litho at Karāchi in

1894 A.D/ 1312 A.H.

1. Khūda Dād Khān :- "Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sindh"; (Persian Text); P.305. (See also P.208).
 احمدرالمبادخانبهادر خاندان افغان ترمين خلف مرحوم وموفقورضا محمد خان عرف
 روضخان افغان ترمين اصل، مسالت پشنگ وحالا مکه رکند فیلع شکار پور مسترة
2. Ibid; P.221.
3. Ibid; "Introduction"; P.2.
4. Ibid; P.2.
5. Ibid; "Introduction"; P.3. See Persian Text P.165.
6. See also the persian Text. "Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sindh"; PP 208, 181 and 190.
7. Ibid; (Persian Text); PP. 210-211).
8. Ibid; _____; PP.299.
9. Ibid; _____; PP.223.
10. Ibid; _____; P.224.
11. Ibid; _____; PP.234-246.
12. Ibid; (Introduction); P.3.
13. This account has been taken from the text 'Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sindh' as well as from the "Introduction" by Dr.N.A.Baloch.
14. Ibid. See Persian Text; PP. 168, 177,191, 278.
15. Ibid; PP 296-173-191.
16. Ibid; PP 174, 191, 278,289.
17. Ibid; P. 176.
18. Ibid; PP. 179, 191.
19. Ibid; PP. 181, 191.

20. Ibid; P. 179. 28. Ibid; P. 209.
21. Ibid; PP. 197-198. 29. Ibid; P. 200.
22. Ibid; PP. 198-199. 30. Ibid; P. 205.
23. Ibid; PP. 208-211. 31. Ibid; P. 275.
24. Ibid; PP. 213. 32. Ibid; P. 280.
25. Ibid; PP. 217-218. 33. Ibid; P. 193.
26. Ibid; P. 229. 34. Ibid; ("Introduction"); P. 6.
27. Ibid; PP. 168-169. 35. Ibid; PP. 191-192.
36. Ibid; (Introduction); P. 6.
37. Ibid; PP. 294-295.

(بتاریخ نهم شهر ذی قعدة ۱۳۱۶ مطابق دهم مارچ ۱۹۰۰ ع) بود دعوت
 نیاز آیت این مؤلفه در بنگله حقیر واقع سکھر گونہ مدرسہ ستروان صاحب نائب کشنر
 تشریف ازانی فرمودہ مولف و عزیزان و دوستان و غیر خواہان اور اشادان و فرائد
 و سرفراز فرمودند، و ہر آنچہ آن وقت بموجب لیاقت خویش تجویز آراستگی
 بنگلہ و فرشت و انراختن کیمتوں ہا برکرمی و غیرہ بوقوعی رسانیدہ شدہ بود،
 از ملاحظہ آن حینا خویش عالم گشتہ، تناول طعام نداشتہ و پچای و میوہات
 و غیرہ بہل آورده، تقریب ساعت وقت بخش گشتہ، تمام بنگلہ سامان و
 قماویر و کتب خانہ و منیرہ را سیر فرمودہ، تشریف فرمای
 حینہ جات خود ہا شدند).

38. Ibid; (Introduction); P. 7.
39. Ibid; (Introduction); P. 7.
40. Ibid; P. 2.
41. Ibid; P. 126.
42. Ibid; P. 22.
43. Ibid; P. 20.
44. Ibid; P. 191-192 see also "Introduction"; P. 41.

43. Ibid; P.20.

44. Ibid; PP.110-116 see also 'Introduction' P.11.

45. Ibid; P.305.

46. Ibid; P.168.

47. Ibid; P.176.

(تصنيف نسبه "ملکرات نامه" در علمداري مستر انوارالدين صاحب بهادر
کشتن سبز و قوعی انجا ميرده است)

48. Ibid; P.174.

49. Ibid; PP.179-180.

50. Ibid; P.187.

51. Ibid; PP.196-197.

52. Ibid; P.229.

53. Ibid; PP.229-230.

54. Ibid; P.238 (see also Khudā Dād Khān - "Siyāhat Nāma"
PP.2-3); Karāchi: 1893.

55. Khudā Dād Khān - Op.Cit. P.1.

56. Khudā Dād Khān - "Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sind"; (Persian Text)
P.75.

57. Ibid; P.162.

HIS WORKS,

Mahdūn Mahdūn 'Alli has composed many books. His well
known work on history is 'Lubb-i-Jahān-Nāma'. It consists of three
volumes. The first two volumes deal with the world history. The

third volume is solely on the history of Sind. This volume

MAKHDŪM 'ALLĀH BAKHSH IBN MUHAMMAD-'ĀQIL 'ABBĀSĪ KHUHRĀVĪ.

(1241 A.H./1825 A.D./1335 A.H/ 1916.)

His name was Makhdūm 'Atā¹ Muhammad, but he was called 'Allāh Bakhsh¹. On his stamp the following rhyme was engraved :-

”سعادیت دو جهان عطا مجر کرد“

His glorious father Makhdūm Muhammad 'Āqil¹ was excellent scholar. He was skilled in Qur'ān and Ḥadīth (tradition) and was well-acquainted in Ḥanafī jurisprudence. He remained as a judge (Qāḍī) in Khayrpur state in the days of Tālpūrs. He was greatly regarded by Mir 'Alī Murād Khān. It was a fashion in those days that Mir Sāhib used to sit on a bedstead and others oftenly sit on the ground. But Makhdūm Muhammad 'Āqil¹ always enjoyed to sit with Mir Sāhib on his bedstead².

The date of birth of Makhdūm Muhammad 'Āqil is not known. But his son has given 1268 A.H/ 27th October; 1851 A.D as his date of religious endowment for carrying out the "Revealed Law"³.

HIS WORKS.

Makhdūm Muhammad 'Āqil has composed many books. His well known book on history is Ā'īn-i-Jahān-Numā. It consists of three volumes. The first two volumes deal with the world history. The third volume is solely on the history of Sind. This volume

discusses about the scholars, saints, important cities and places of Sindh. This history gives a very large and exhaustive description of the saints and shrines of Khairpūr state. The second book is "Riyāḍ-i-Mahfil". It describes the law and regulations of a literary institute. In this book the author has given his many poems. The third book is on the exegesis of Pāre-i-'Am, in persian known as "Manb'-ul-māni". The fourth book deals with the intricate propositions of jurisprudence. He was not merely a prose writer but he was poet too. He has composed letters, "Inshā'-i-Marghūb", which is liked by the intellects. A letter in which the names of the things pertaining to garden are depicted and the letter

Dhāl (ذ) is docketed.

پیوسته گلستان محبت و اخلاص چو سبزهستان مودت و اختصار آن با کوره فضایل
نوباده کما ائمه شریفین شمایل شپترن خصال اعلا وجود گلابی آله مسعود الهی اللہ
المخلص فی اللہ میان رصده اللہ از سحاب مکرمت یزدانی ورشحات شفق سبجانی
دتیا و فرحان باد سلامی که از سبزه آسرسبزی صریقه اهل اسلام و از لام آن
لواقع گلجای اهل اکرام از میم آن ماء محبت که حیات نبات محبوبان عطا ماست
پیشکش آورده عند لب مایاس قلم بهر فقه قرطاس عنبر شیرین مترنم
سافیه بمطلب می گراید که با گلستان عافیت این سمت از محبوب نسائکم الطائف
رب العزیز سرسبز و شگفته بخضارت مراد پیوسته پیرایه الحمد اللہ علی
کل حال پوشیده و فرشت بوقلمون بساط ارض صریقه انبساط آنصوب
از دایه ابر بهاری افصال ذوالجلال غنا کی مالامال

طلبیده می شود - المرام در هنگامیکه طائر رومی برای استنجا ریخت
آثار در گلشن شامرا از بلبل عشاق شیوه نغمه اشتیاق می آموخت
و شکاف پردهان هجوم غموم فراق از بیک صبا برآم تشلی از مکتوب
رسی می دوخت - در آن حین شرف آگین بیک شیرین مانند گلی از
غنچه سرکشیده خاطر مقبوضه مقصود را شگوفه گر زانپره نامه
آورد که مانند ناف خونی مشام مطهر ساخته سواد جروفتش را -
بسبب و سوسن و پیاچین یا بکا کل پیچدارنگارین تشبیه دهم رواست
بریاض سطروش بسفیری سمن و نصیرین یا بچهر حسن سیمین مشاب
نمایم سزااست - حلاوت و مهورش بسان فواکه گلستان ممثلیا -
مانند کلمات عبارات بلیغان مشکل - چونکه مشتمل بر طلب
فاکه تفکر عملی و علمی واقعی بود لا جرم بصفت اقسام
گلشن مالوف نامه ساخته شد خاطر به مجرد دیدنش سرت
گیر گردید - زبان محض به خوانندیش شکر پذیر شد - ای وقت
تو خوشی که وقت ما خوش کردی - نامه سابق و حال مانند نسیم صبا
بریاض این طرف رسید - انشاء الله تعالی عنقریب دوم تفکر
از شجره ملاقات ملصق به آن دوست بلبل چمنک خواهد
شد خاطر گلشن گلزار فرمایند - زیاده و الاستقام

Another letter of condolence from Mir Imām Bakhsh on the death
of Mir Nasir ⁸ Khān and Mir 'Abbās 'Alī Khān Tālpur Hyderabad,
written by Makhdūm Muḥammad 'Aqil -

فرهاد دلاکه شهسواران رفتند و سیمین برتان و گل ازان رفتند
چون بوی گل آمدند فرهاد سوار و در خاک چون قطره های باران رفتند -
از تحریر این واقعه جانشین است در نستان قلم درگیرد و از تسطیر این
سائنه نعرش بیا، شعله در جان ناتوان قرطاس التهاب می پذیرد -

افسوس و دریغ از شهبوده فلک کج مدار که از ترجمه اخبار انگریزی و مطالعہ سلفان الاخبار
و گلشن نو بہار بہای گل رعنا خار عنا در ہین دل شگفتہ و نائزہ تاسف و حسرت بجان
خیز خواہان در گرفت۔ واضح گشت کہ گل گلزار سروری و سرداری بہا بخ بہان مست بہان
بسموہ اجل از گلشن حیات برخت و گوہر آبدار برج ابہت و نامداری دارشتہ زہری
ازہم بگسیخت۔ آسمان این ماتم رفت میاہ پوشیدہ۔ تشفق این در غرقہ نجون
الہ گردید۔ ای دریغاکہ چہ کردی ستم ایجاد فلک۔ آہ زیندار فلک کشور سوزہ
شہراز جور بر باد فلک۔ آہ زیندار فلک از آنجا کہ واقع حقیقی وضع زمانہ را باین طور
فرمودہ کہ در پس ہر سحر شامی و پیرامون ہر دانہ دایہ نوش فلک آلودہ صد
دینش شہد روزگار آمیختہ ہلاہل طیش صاف این خدمت آگون سراسر نرد۔

دوای این دوا بوقلمون سر بسر درد۔ لا جرم جری فوشان پیمانہ خرد را باید کہ
مشغوف پیمانہ این پیمان گسل نہ باشد۔ چون آراین جہات دامنش محفوظ
رنگ و بوی این روضہ منتقل نگردد نہ کہ گفتہ اند۔ دوران فلک کہ ہی مدار
است زوگاہ خزان و گوہر ہار است۔ کہ مہرہ دہد پرست گم گم شیشہ بقی
کند گوہر۔ سیلاب غماست در سرور شہ طوفان ہلا است در توش بلی فلک
دیرینہ سال را در خدا بروی ہلاہل اشارتی است کہ این تنگ فضای ہما
ضمیمہ است نہ چہ برون و دویرون اشک لالہ ہر بر صفہ رخسار سپہر منہی است
کہ این مقام ماتم سر جای گریستن است نہ خریدن بچہلش آنکہ کمان
فلک سرکش روزگار گردن گش را تیر حوادث در تر کش است ساکنان
آماجگاہ خاک را خوش نشینان آسبب آمان جستن امری است محال

لا جرم برضای حق را طایفہ بہر وسایم گرایند۔ و زمزمہ۔

اِنَّا لِلّٰہِ وَاِنَّا اِلَیْہِ رَاجِعُونَ سرایند۔ ہر آنکہ زار بہاچار
بایدش نوشید۔ زجام دہرہی کل من علیہا فان۔

و توفیق الہی رفیق باد

The following fragment was composed on his death by Pir
Muhammad Ashraf.

آقا از فوت حضرت مخدوم - از بهمان رسم جدول علم برقت ،
سال و صفتش چون از خرد بسپرد - گفت هی هی شجاع علم برقت

۱۲۹۳

Makhdūm 'Allāh Bakhsh 'Abbāsi was born in 1241 A.H/ 16th August
1825 A.D. His glorious father had already died when he was a

little boy. His younger brother, Din Muhammad who was from
step-mother took the possession of all his wealth. Makhdūm Allāh
Bakhsh remained as an orphan. He passed his wretched life with
his mother. He got his early education from Maulānā Ghulām

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Muhammad Mahesar of Kamāl Dera. He completed his course in
'Arabic and Persian. In the beginning he became Munshī (Secretary)
to Pir 'Abū Muhammad Shāh Afandī of Rānipur. Then he left that
job and joined government service. After that he passed Higher
Examination and was appointed as a Head Munshi of Fayd Ganj
Talūqa. He worked honestly and laboriously. Seeing his
efficiency Shaykh Sādiq 'Alī, a vazier of that time made him
resident magistrate of Khairpūr state. After that he was
appointed as a Relief judge according to Deccan Relief Act.

In the end he remained as a Mir Munshi to the ruler of state.
He died of the attack of tuberculosis in 2nd Rajāb 1335 A.H/
28th October, 1916 A.D.

Makhdūm 'Allāh Bakhsh 'Abbāsi was an excellent
scholar of 'Arabic and Persian. Like his father, Muhammad 'Aqil

'Abbāsi, he had mastery over exegesis of Holy Qur'ān, Hadith, jurisprudence and other sciences of the time. He was competent enough about the writings of Law. His writings about the Law were considered credible. He was an eloquent speaker. People from far and near used to come on Friday Jum'at prayer, and hear his ¹⁵ lecture.

HIS WORKS :- Although he performed various duties, but he continued composing the books. Following are his writings :-

1. FAYDIL-I-TASHIL-'UL-QUR'ĀN :- He has completed only four pāras of the exegesis of Qur'ān. In Sindhi. Three pāras Alif-Lā'm-Mim, Sa-Yasqūl and Tilka'l-rasul have been published. The fourth one Lan Tanal-'ul Birr is not published.
2. A chronicle about the knowledge of Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) on the occult sciences. In this chronicle the author has proved the esoteric knowledge of Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).
3. He has also composed various writings about Law in Persian and Arabic.
4. FAUZUL AKHLĀF-MIN-FAYD-'UL-ASLĀF'URĀ (ALIAS) TADHKIRA-I-
¹⁶
MAKHĀDIM-I-KHUHRA.

This historical chronicle contains 180 pages (Mss. of University of Sind) and it begins with the genealogy of Adhīm, (the Lords) which numbers 20. The first verse then it

He was succeeded by the thirteenth son of the first among them
Makhdūms, (the lords) which numbers 29. The first among them
 is Makhdūm Asad-'ullāh, whose title was 'Makhdūm-'ul- Mulk'. He
 was from the progeny of Ḥadjarat 'Abbās, the uncle of prophet
Muḥammad (peace be upon him). He was a great scholar, not
 only in theory but in practice too, and the follower of the
 apostle of beings (Sayyid-i-Kā'ināt). His grand father Sayyid
Ibrāhim bin Ishāq came in Sindh for the execution of Law
 (Shari'at) and divulging the knowledge of Ḥadith (tradition),
 and the commentary of the Qur'ān in the days of 'Almu'tsim-
billāh bin Māmūn bin Ḥārūn al-Rashid (833-841 A.D./218-227 A.H)
 who ordered him for this purpose.

Before this the inhabitants of Sind were ignorant of the religious
 Sciences. He was the first man who imparted the science of
 tradition (Ḥadith), the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān,
 jurisprudence, the etymology (Sarf) and the syntax (Nahve).
 Firstly he settled at a place called 'Kalor', which is the
 name of a mountain to the north of the city of Nirūn, presently
 known as Hyderābād he continued his preaching and revealing
 the ¹⁷ Laws. The people used to call him 'Kalor wala', (belonging
 to the Kalor).

Sayyid Ibrāhim had eleven sons, but the chronicle
 does not mention all the names of his sons. The first son was
 'Abdullāh', (2) 'Ube'dullāh', (3) 'Abdullāh' and the (4) 'Asifullāh'.

He was assassinated by the thieves near that mountain on 7th March 862 A.D/ 248 A.H. After that Sayyid 'Abdullāh continued to be the successor of his father. He was also a pious and intelligent man. He died on 20th November 1001 A.D/ 392 A.H. Then his son Jamāl-'ul-Dīn Muḥammad succeeded him. He was also too polite and inspired person. He died on 11th November 1067 A.D/ 460 A.H. and his son 'Ubayd-'ullāh succeeded his father. He was a learned man in esoteric and exoteric sciences, and possessed a sober nature and was the real servant of God. He used to spend most of his time in teaching and preaching. ¹⁹ He died on 18th June 1113 A.D/ 507 A.H.

Then came his son Sayyidnā Yahyā, who was also an adorer of God Almighty. He died on 31st August 1269 A.D/ 668 A.H. After his death came his son Makhdūm Muḥammad. He was one of the greatest scholars of jurisprudence and was a unique in scholarship. He died on 5th January 1356 A.D/ 757 A.H. After the death of Makhdūm Muḥammad, his son Makhdūm Aḥmad succeeded him. He was also one of celebrated traditionalists and the commentators of Holy Qur'ān. He used to teach mostly the Hadith (tradition) and the interpretation of Holy Qur'ān. He lived in district Thatta and Hyderābād and finally died there on 23rd August 1465 A.D/ 870 A.H.

Then came his son, ²⁰ Makhdūm Asadullāh who was a profound scholar and ~~very learned person~~ authority in law (Shari'at). He was a mystic and a large number of disciples followed him. He had a command over the Hadith. He died in 'Khuhra' on 14th ²¹ october 1558 A.D/ 966 A.H.

Makhdūm Muhammad 'Aqil Qureshi Hashimī 'Abbāsī was a very learned man. He passed his life in 'Khuhra' and devoted himself to the glorification of God. He died on 21 January, ²³ 1681 A.D/ 1092 A.H. and his shrine is in Khuhra. His date of ²⁴ death comes from the following Quatrains :-

عظیم و فاضل و عاقل زمانہ - سند اہل کرم عاقل محمد
ومالک فاضل اہل کرم - بودہ پاکیزہ دم عاقل محمد

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Now we come to Makhdūm 'Abd-ul-Rehman ibn-i-Makhdūm Muhammad. He was the scholar and a mystic. He used to utter ²⁵ something in the state of ecstasy. The author mentions his Karāmat (a miracle).

Faqir Chaniya, belonging to the tribe of an 'Ujan', was a poor fellow. At present his off-springs are living there. Once he was cutting grass from the land, for the horse of Makhdūm 'Abd-'ul-Rehman. Unfortunately it so happened that the horse kicked Faqir Chaniya at his head. At the very moment he ²⁶ breathed his last breath. The news reached at the ears of Makhdūm Shāhib. His father was called, when Makhdūm Shāhib was in the

state of ecstasy. He asked from his father whether the compensation should be given in cash or he should be blessed with the son, who would become the Pir (spiritual guide) of his tribe. The father of Chaniya knelt at the foot of Makhdūm Sāhib and demanded the latter choice. Makhdūm Sāhib prayed to God and said, "God will bless you with a son, very soon". By the grace of God, he was blessed with a son in the same year. Chaniya and they brought him before Makhdūm Sāhib. He dribbled on the child's mouth of his spit and the child got union with God in his teen-age.

It is said that ²⁷Khelifa 'Abdullāh was sent for the missionary work to Hyderābād and ²⁸Khudābād in the days of Nūr Muḥammad 'Abbāsī (Kalhora) who was the ruler of Sind. Khelifa 'Abdullāh remained there, for a month but he did not prove himself successful in preaching the religious doctrine. Makhdūm 'Abdul-Reḥmān was informed about the failure of Khelifa 'Abdullāh. He knew it by intuition that it is due to the consequence of pride of Khelifa 'Abdullāh. So he replied to him that he should seek the blessing and a benediction from the courtisans, who earn by means of sin and iniquity and then the problem will be solved. Further he wrote that Khelifa will have to repent and feel contrition for sins which he has committed and he should not be insolence.²⁹

At last Khalifa went to that part of the town where a bawdy-house was situated. When people saw the Khalifa, they were astonished and some of them thought that he has gone for the censuring and admonishing them.³⁰ But most of them had a vague belief about the moral character of Khalifa. All the prostitutes gathered and seeing the pious and true follower of the faith, they left the ideas of vice and immorality at once. They repented and bowed on the foot of Khalifa and he prayed for mercy and deprecation from Almighty God. In this way God showered his blessings and all the religious and worldly problems were solved.

The author by narrating this anecdote remarks that arrogance and entity in the road to Sufic perfection, (طریقت) and insight in Divine mysteries (معرفت) is one of the greatest sins. One should not make exorbitant claims of rank, because God does not like haughtiness and presumption. He likes humility, submission and courtesy.

Now we come to Makhdūm ³¹Muhammed 'Āqil Ibn-i-Makhdūm 'Abd-ul Rehman. Both the brothers were assassinated on the same date.³² Makhdūm Muhammed 'Āqil was a pious and sober minded man. He was contented with what he possessed. The author narrates the miracles and then he depicts the date of martyrdom of both the brothers.³³ He has also composed a rhyme,³⁴ from

which we get the date of their martyrdom, as 1145 A.H./1732 A.D.

MAKHDŪM MUHAMMAD ³⁵ 'ISMĀ'IL PIRYĀLAVI.

His title was 'Abd-ul- Rasūl. He was the real adorer of God. He had a command over calligraphy and there was no contemporary who could compete with him in the art of calligraphy.

It is related that once a curd-seller woman was going to sell the curd to Piryālo (a town) from a village. She lost her way and was standing. Accidentally Makhdūm Shāhib was also coming by that way. She asked, "Where is the town of Piryālavī?" Makhdūm replied in Sindhi language "Piryā" (Piryān) means 'beloved' and "Lavi" means a town i.e. the town of beloved. Come here and wink your eyes, we'll show you the town. She nictitated her eyes. After a pause he said, "open your eyes". She opened her eyes and saw the tomb of prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Makhdūm said that this is the town of 'Piryālavī' and go away. She was illiterate woman and entered the town. She saw the Arabs and she did not know the Arabic language. So, she returned back and weeping stood on the road. Mean while Makhdūm Shāhib came on the very spot. He asked, "Why are you weeping?" She said, "This is not the town of Piryālavī". He said that you wanted Bhāryārlavi, connive your eyes. She did so, and noticed that she was standing out side the town of Bhāryārlvi. Such was the presence of Makhdūm

Muhammad 'Isma'il to the prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)!

Further we find that the author relates miracles upon miracle.

Makhdūm Muhammad 'Isma'il Pirzāvi died on 1174 A.H/³⁶
13th August, 1760 A.D. in Shikarpur.

CONCLUSION :- The book contains the above account of Makhdūm³⁷ of Khuhra only. There are 158 pages in the whole book. In the end Qasida is given, which was composed when a canal named "Mir wāh" was to be open.

1. "Mehran" Si-māhi "Sawānīh Number" 3 & 4 1957; P. 69.

2. Ibid; P. 69.

3. Tadhkirā-i-Makhdūm-i-Khuhra MSS; P. 131.

حضرت مخدوم المعتمد مسند لاقلیم والی ماجری حضرت مخدوم عیاض قزوینی
سره قزوینی ارجمند جناب مخدوم ماب حضرت مخدوم عبدالخالق (د) کہ در سنہ دوازدھ صد
و شصت و ہشت ہجری سرسجادہ شریعت تھیں فرمود۔

4. Makhdūm 'Allāh Bakhsh 'Abbāsī :- "Tadhkirā-i-Makhdūm-i-Khuhra"; MSS; P. 131.

5. Si-māhi "Mehran"; P. 70.

6. Makhdūm A.B. 'Abbāsī :- Op.Cit; P. 141.

7. Ibid; PP. 143-144.

8. Ibid; PP. 152-153.

9. Ibid; P. 154.

(بتاریخ ششم ماہ شعبان ۱۲۹۳ ہجری بمقام شکارپور انتقال فرمودند)

10. Ibid; P.154.
11. Ibid; PP 24-25.
12. Si-māhi "Mahrān"; 1957; P.78.
13. Ibid; PP. 72-73.
14. Ibid; P. 73.
15. Ibid; P. 73.
16. Makhdūm A.B. 'Abbāsī - Op.Cit P.5.
(نامہ این رسالہ "فوز الاخلاف من فیض الاسلاف" بخادم ولقبہ تذکرہ مخادیم کمرہ دارم)
17. Ibid; P.1.
18. Ibid; P.2.
19. Ibid; P.3.
20. Ibid; P.4.
21. Ibid; P.6.
22. Ibid; P.7.
23. Ibid; P.9.
24. Ibid; P.13.
25. Ibid; P.18.
26. Ibid; P.19.
27. Ibid; P.21.
28. Khudābād is six miles away to the South from Dādū.
29. Makhdūm A.B. 'Abbāsī - Op.Cit. P.1.
30. Ibid; P.22.
31. Ibid; P.39.
32. "Mahrān", 3.4 of 1957, P.112.

33. Makhdum A.B. Abbasi - Op.Cit.P.42.

(تاریخ وفات آن ماموران شهید و جمیع جهات شهداء
رضوان الله علیہ اجمعین در سن یک هزار و یکصد و
پهل و پنج بوقوع آمد)

34. Ibid: MSS. P.44.

بوقاضی از در قاضی حاجات - شهادت حضرت از پی رفع درجات،
روان یرو عاش از نشت هک - دسیره بر سر آماج اجابات،
بنگاه برده اش قصاب تقیر - به جهش کشت صد هیئات هیئات،
بتایح قتال آن قوم عباس - ند آمد ید خلعت بجنات.
۵۱۱۴۵

35. Ibid: PP. 62-63.

36. Ibid: P.71.

(تاریخ وفات ایشان در سن یک هزار و یکصد
و هفتاد و چهار بوقوع آمد)

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